

Urban Elites in the Venetian Commonwealth
Social and Economic Mobility in early modern Dalmatia
(Zadar / Zara, 1540 to 1570)

Dissertation

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All primary sources are taken from the Državni arhiv u Zadru (DAZd, Croatian State Archiv in Zadar), Spisi zadarskih bilježnika (SZB, Manuscripts of Jadertine Notaries).

AM	Augustinus Martius	box. no. I	active from 1540 to 1552
CC	Cornelius Constantius	box. no. I	1567 to 1569
DC	Daniel Cavalca	box. no. I–III	1551 to 1566
FT	Franciscus Thomaseus	box. no. I	1548 to 1561
GC	Gabriel Cernotta	box. no. I	1562 to 1564
HM	Horatius de Marchettis	box. no. I	1567 to 1569
JM	Johannes a Morea	box. no. I	1545 to 1569
JMM	Johannes Michael Mazzarellus	box. no. I–IV	1540 to 1554
MAS	Marcus Aurelius Sonzonius	box. no. I	1544 to 1548
NC	Nicolaus Canali	box. no. I	1548 to 1567
ND	Nicolaus Drasmileus	box. no. I, IV	1540 to 1566
PB	Petrus de Bassano	box. no. I–II	1540 to 1569
PS	Paulus de Sanctis	box. no. I	1545 to 1551
SB	Simon Budineus	box. no. I	1556 to 1566
SM	Simon Mazzarellus	box. no. I	1555 to 1569

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Zurich, March of 2011

Stephan Karl Sander

Note on proper Names and Dates

The wide range of the present study in both geographical and human terms entails a number of difficulties with the toponyms as well as homonyms. While there were not too many territorial changes during the period under consideration, present-day place names more often than not differ from the early modern period. In order to address this issue and to preserve at least a minimal amount of consistency, current toponyms and their Italian equivalents are given throughout the text, provided the places could be identified in the first place. The only exception are places generally familiar to the modern reader, e.g. Rome, Venice, Cyprus, etc. Additional information as regards the toponyms is given when appropriate as well as in the appendix.

All homonyms quoted directly from the sources are spelled and written as they appeared in the respective notarial acts. Names appearing in secondary sources, i.e. the *Commissiones et Relationes Venetae* or the *Zadarski statut* are reproduced as they were printed in the first place. It must be noted that the spelling may vary as any modern regularities in personal names did not exist at the time. In order to achieve a certain clarity and consistency, the modern Italian equivalents of the homonyms found are given, too. In addition, all proper names, even if they were spelled with lower-case letters in the original sources, have been reproduced with capital letters in order to facilitate the distinction between homonyms and toponyms on the one hand and the rest of the information provided.

Toponyms appearing in the descriptions below tables are given in their current Croatian/Italian versions with the original spelling in brackets, e.g. Kotor/Cattaro (Catharo); Toponyms I have been unable to identify are put in brackets and spelled in Italics, e.g. (*Serbar*).

All dates derived from primary and secondary sources were reproduced as they appeared in the original. The present study does not exceed October 1582 thus no distinction between the Julian and Gregorian Calendars has been made. As a means of assistance, I have provided the reader with approximate translations of the Slavic titles of the works cited.

Introduction

“Venice was able to settle down to one of her longest periods of peace she could ever remember – a period in which, in the words of her principal French historians, ‘the history of the Venetians flows on without being marked by any events worthy of the attention of posterity’.”¹

The present thesis examines the social, economic, and geographical mobility and activities of Zadar’s² urban elites in Venice’s Dalmatian capital around the mid–sixteenth century – more or less the period referred to by John Norwich. Both area and epoch under consideration, as circumscribed roughly by the two naval encounters of Preveza on 28 September, 1538, and Lepanto on 7 October, 1571, have been chosen for the little scholarly attention they have attracted so far. The main issues analysed, examined, and discussed is Zadar³ and its urban society, its various social strata, and the interactions of its secular, ecclesiastical, and functional elite inhabitants. The city of *Iadera* or *Jadra*, present-day Zadar, was one of Venice’s most important centres along the oriental littoral of the Adriatic, and its peoples are presented as an example of existence along the oftentimes diffuse borders of the Serenissima’s possessions with the Ottoman Empire. Dalmatia and its western Balkan hinterlands shared a common but routinely disrupted history embedded in various overlapping cultural, ethnic, religious, and social contexts.

¹ This remark is from the chapter entitled ‘Peace’, covering the years from 1530 to 1564; the French historian referred to was Count Pierre Daru. John J. Norwich, *A History of Venice* (s.l.: Penguin, 2003), 459–60.

² The adjective used in this study will be *Jadertine*, derived from the then–contemporaneous Latin name of present-day Zadar, *Jadra*, and in accordance with the fact that the present study is based upon predominantly Latin sources. In all, this does not reflect on the ethnic or social composition of Zadar’s population during the Middle Ages and the early modern period.

³ The toponyms and languages of medieval and early modern Dalmatia present a number of problems: their Latin and/or Italian versions often bear little if any resemblance to their respective modern Slavic names. In order to achieve a certain degree of clarity and consistency, both the then–contemporaneous place names and their present-day (Slavic) names are given. The author stresses that this has pragmatic as opposed to any other reasons whatsoever. Along the same lines, approximate English translations of the Slavic titles will be given. For further information, the reader is referred to the note on proper names and dates above.

With respect to the interrelated early modern, Mediterranean–Levantine, and Southeast European aspects, the thesis explores, documents, and maps the terrain and boundaries of Zadar’s urban elites along the fault lines of Latin and Orthodox Christendom with Islam. Geographically speaking the eastern seaboard of the Adriatic is considered a transitional and transitory region between the Catholic–Italian and the Ottoman–Southeast European worlds. Within Venice’s overseas possessions, Dalmatia and its inhabitants shared a long history of cross-cultural, economic, social, and religious contacts with neighbours regions.

By the dawn of the sixteenth century, the Republic of St Mark lay in-between two self-styled universal monarchies, Spain and the Ottoman Empire, hard pressed from Occident and Orient alike.⁴ Historiography tends to favour protagonists of epic struggles, be they in Istanbul, Madrid, and Vienna or, in the context of this study, Venice. However, usually less light is shed on the people and their livelihoods caught in-between. Furthermore, as opposed to its hinterlands, the urban societies along the oriental coast of the Adriatic during the sixteenth century – except for the Ragusan Republic⁵ – have yet to attract post-nationalistic scholarly research.⁶

⁴ This notion, introduced by Leopold von Ranke in the 1850s in his work about the Ottomans and the Spanish Monarchy in the 16th and 17th century, first published in 1857, still holds true. The reference thereto can be found in Leopold von Ranke, *Die Osmanen und die Spanische Monarchie im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Dunker & Humblot, 1877), v.

Another remark to this notion can be found in Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, vol. 2 (London: Fontana, 1975), 657.

A third remark about these universal monarchies and Venice thus being a secondary power with decreasing possibilities can be found in Giuseppe Gullino, “Le frontiere navali,” in *Storia di Venezia: Il Rinascimento: Politica e Cultura*, vol. 4, ed. Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci (Rome: Enciclopedia Italiana, 1996), 98 (13–111).

⁵ The Ragusan Republic, also known under its Slavic name Dubrovačka Republika [Republic of Dubrovnik], too was a multi-lingual society. Latin was the administrative language, Italian the language of commerce, Dalmato–Roman the official language in the councils of government, and Slavic the spoken language in the families. Neven Budak, “Urban élites in Dalmatia in the 14th and 15th centuries,” in *Città e sistema adriatico alla fine del medioevo: Bilanci degli Studi e prospettive di ricerca: Convegno di Studi, Padova, 4–5 Aprile 1997*, ed. Michele P. Ghezzi (Venice: Società Dalmata di Storia Patria, 1998), 195–6 (181–99). Further, see Sante Graciotti, “Plurilinguismo letterario e pluriculturalismo nella Ragusa antica (un modello per la futura Europa?),” *Atti e Memorie* 20, no. 9 (1997): 1–16, Bariša Krekić, “On the Latino–Slavic Cultural Symbiosis in Late Medieval and Renaissance Dalmatia and Dubrovnik,” in *Dubrovnik: A Mediterranean Urban Society, 1300–1600*, ed. Bariša Krekić (Aldershot: Variorum, 1997), 312–32, Michael Metzeltin, “Le varietà italiane sulle coste dell’Adriatico orientale,” in *Balceni occidentali, Adriatico e Venezia fra XIII e XVIII secolo/Der westliche Balkan, der Adria-raum und Venedig (13.–18. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Gherardo Ortalli and Oliver J. Schmitt (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009), 199–237, and Ljerka Šimunković, “La politica linguistica della Serenissima verso i possedimenti ‘di là da mar’: Il caso della Dalmazia,” in *Mito e antimito di Venezia nel bacino adriatico (secoli XV–XIX)*, ed. Sante Graciotti (Rome: Calamo, 2001), 95–104.

⁶ This problematic case has been highlighted as recently as 2008, exemplified by Drago Roksandić and Egidio Ivetić in their introductory remarks to Tea Mayhew’s study on Zarentine jurisdiction. Tea Mayhew, *Dalmatia between Ottoman and Venetian Rule: Contado di Zara, 1645–1718* (Rome: Viella, 2008), 7–9, 11–2.

i. Statement of Aims

Over centuries, “two powerful representations – one a myth that idealizes Venice, the other an antimyth that vilifies it – have played a decisive role in shaping the way scholars approach Venice, its history, and its civilization.”⁷ Ever since the demise of the Republic of St Mark in 1797, historiography, for some time, ascribed to early modern Venice a growing inertia. This view, once formulated, perpetuated the belief that the Venetian Republic, despite the admiration caused by its displayed stability and wealth, became increasingly incapable of reform from the sixteenth century onwards. However, as Dennis Romano and John Martin argue, “the central paradox in Venetian history lies in the sharp contrast between the tendency of Venetians both to represent and to think of themselves in terms of fixed categories and the underlying reality of economic, social, and geographical fluidity. The relation between the social and commercial world of Venice, which was constantly in motion, and the representation of Venice as a stable society needs further study and elaboration.”⁸

With respect to these remarks, intended to address the issue of the lagoon metropolis itself, the present thesis pursues two main aims: First, the documentation and analysis of this societal mobility in the context of the Serenissima’s empire, and second, to contribute to the social history of the Adriatic during the sixteenth century. The literature on many aspects of Renaissance Venice and its maritime empire is considerable, however, there are clearly visible gaps in terms of historiographic documentation. Many scholarly works have been written about the Late Middle Ages and the beginnings of the Renaissance, yet in spite of the abundance of publications about Italy’s entry into the early modern period, a significant gap in the literature pertaining to the decades between the battles of Preveza and Lepanto still exists. Given Dalmatia’s eventful history since the fall of the Republic of St Mark, nationalistic ends often sought to justify writing differing histories of the Adriatic elements of the *Stato da mar*, a post-nationalistic approaches to the sixteenth century along the eastern littoral of the Adriatic

⁷ Dennis Romano and John Martin, “Reconsidering Venice,” in *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City State, 1297–1797*, ed. Dennis Romano and John Martin (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 2000), 3 (1–35).

⁸ Romano and Martin, “Reconsidering Venice,” 21.

See further the article by Arié Malz, in which he lays out the model of regional (i.e. connections with the own urban hinterlands) and supra-regional (i.e. with other cities) networks further elaborated on in part two. For the reference, see Arié Malz, “Frühneuzeitliche Modernisierung als Sackgasse: Die dalmatinische Städtewelt vom 15. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert,” in *Städte im östlichen Europa: Zur Problematik von Modernisierung und Raum vom Spätmittelalter bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Carsten Goehrke (Zurich: Chronos, 2006), 103–13 (103–33).

is still a desideratum.⁹ Hence, the present thesis aims at contributing to the further understanding of Dalmatian urban societies in their specific diversified cultural, economic, and social environments.

i.i. Thesis Structure

The introductory chapter contains the sections dealing with a review of the scientific literature pertaining to the present topic, methodical considerations, and a short discussion of both primary and secondary sources used. In general terms, the present study is divided into four parts, detailing the over-all setting, the organisation of Zadar's society, the ranges and activities of its elites, and a final part dedicated to social mobility, a number of socio-functional groups, and a tentative overview of Zadar's urban landscape. Over-all, the first part provides the setting, the second part confines the ranges on the supra-regional level of the Adriatic and beyond. Part three, then, investigates the intermediary level of activities within central Dalmatia and Zadar's jurisdiction before the view, in the fourth and final part, shifts the streets.

Part one gives an economical, historical, and social overview of the most relevant events and structural details of Venice, its mercantile-imperial enterprise, and the Adriatic context of her possessions. Divided into two chapters, it presents a coherent and concise framework for the ensuing analysis of Zadar's urban elites. It highlights the most significant events occurring contemporaneously in order to embed the Venetian's (mis-) fortunes within the necessary bigger picture.

The following second part contains in-depth analysis of the ranges of activities of Zadar's urban elites between 1540 and 1569. It is based upon one type of sources mostly overlooked as of 2010, procuratorial contracts. These notarial acts, if subjected to analysis of the economic, geographical, and socio-functional origins of both contracting parties and the destinations of the appointees, reveal an inter-woven web of connections spreading across not only immediate neighbouring areas. The total number of 930 individual procuratorial acts has been surveyed and analysed in order to achieve quantitative conclusions and underline the potential of these instruments as regards network analysis.

The focus of the third part rests upon the activities of Zadar's urban elites. The approach to this particular facet of everyday life is twofold. First, based upon a variety of exemplary case studies derived from the primary sources, the interactions of the political, ecclesiastical, and

⁹ Budak, "Urban élites," 197.

economic elites are surveyed. The second section investigates their economic activities by analysing one particular but nevertheless very important aspect of pre-modern economic life, Zadar's real estate and property markets. The plural is used because of the distinctions between the vending, concessions, and rental transactions upon which the over-all focus rests. In all, 1,772 individual notarial acts have been analysed and present a detailed picture of who transferred property to whom and where these parcels of land were located within Zadar's jurisdiction. Again, the number of notarial acts enables conclusions and findings firmly based upon empirical evidence and corresponding quantitative analyses.

Finally, in the fourth part, the examination reaches the micro level by investigating the various then-present socio-functional groups considered to have been part of the urban elites around the mid-sixteenth century. Divided along the social fault lines of pre-modern societies, the first section discusses Zadar's nobility, aspects of geographical mobility, marriage behaviour, incremental increases in societal posture, and their material culture. The second half, consequently, addresses various other elite groups, namely both patricians and citizens of Venice proper, Croats, and Jews. A tentative assessment of the distribution of private and public spaces within Zadar's cityscape concludes the present study.

ii. Literature Review

Renaissance Venice, one of the world's most spectacular capitals, was home to scores of artists, musicians, and writers. Ever since the Republic of St Mark became the home of a thriving commercial and maritime empire, Venice proper, surrounded by the salty waters of its eponymous lagoon, its inhabitants, endeavours, and fortunes had the consequence of making Venice one of the most intensively studied societies in history.¹⁰

As argued for by contemporaries and modern scholars alike, the central narrative of the Republic of St Mark has been – and somehow still is – its societal stability. Improbable as it

¹⁰ Romano and Martin, "Reconsidering Venice," 1–2.

The best general sources of information about Venice are the two volumes by Roberto Cessi and Michael Knapton, eds., *La Repubblica di Venezia nell'età moderna*, 2 vols. (Turin: UTET, 1986–1992), Gaetano Cozzi, *Repubblica di Venezia e Stati Italiani: Politica e Giustizia dal secolo XVI al secolo XVIII* (Turin: Einaudi, 1982), and the books about Venice in the *Storia d'Italia*, edited by Giuseppe Galasso and published by UTET (Unione Tipografica–Editrice Torinese).

See further Lellia Cracco Ruggini, ed., *Storia di Venezia: Dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, 12 vols., (Rome: Enciclopedia Italiana, 1991–2002), and the concise overview by Frederic C. Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1973). For a relative recent guide about Venice and its past, see Giorgio Zordan, *Repertorio di storiografia veneziana: Testi e studi* (Padua: Il Poligrafo, 1998).

might seem, given the neighbouring hotbeds of factional and imperial strife, the Serenissima managed to stay out of most of the ever-varying conflagrations plaguing the Apennine peninsula. From the Late Middle Ages onwards, the Venetians presented themselves as the role model for what, in today's terms, may even be described as 'corporate government'. This (self-) representation gave rise to the myth and, as argue Dennis Romano and John Martin, a corresponding anti-myth, the former glorifying and the latter condemning, even vilifying the Republic of St Mark.¹¹

It was not until the mid-nineteenth century and the advent of modern historiography, usually attributed to Leopold von Ranke and Jacob Burckhardt, when more factual and accurate histories of Venice beyond reproaches become the norm.¹² In general, historiography pertaining to the Republic of St Mark from the mid-nineteenth century onwards may be broken down in these two myth-based categories.¹³ This trend continued to persist well into the second half of the twentieth century. After the Second World War, American scholars celebrated the ideals of Renaissance republicanism, placing Venice within the long-standing Western tradition of republicanism.¹⁴ Others, though, among them Fernand Braudel, have argued that

¹¹ Romano and Martin, "Reconsidering Venice," 2–3.

For an overview about these myths, see James S. Grubb, "When Myths Lose Power: Four Decades of Venetian Historiography," *Journal of Modern History* 58 (1986): 72–3 (43–94).

Further, see Claudio Povoletto, "The Creation of Venetian Historiography," in *Reconsidering Venice: The History and Civilization of an Italian City State, 1297–1797*, ed. Dennis Romano and John Martin (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 2000), 491–519, and Donald E. Queller, *The Venetian Patriciate: Reality versus Myth* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1986), 3–28.

For additional (and more recent) discussion of the relevant literature, see Élisabeth Crouzet-Pavan, *Venice Triumphant: The Horizons of a Myth* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 2002), 84–96.

¹² Jacob Burckhardt's work about the culture of Renaissance Italy (first published in 1860) has been instrumental in defining cultural history. Leopold von Ranke, on the other hand, is usually considered to be the father of modern historiography. For an introductory overview about the latter's contribution to Venetian historiography, see Ingeborg Walter Zapperi, trans., *Venezia nel Cinquecento con un saggio introduttivo di Ugo Tucci* (Rome: Enciclopedia Italiana, 1974), 1–69.

Furthermore, see Gino Benzoni, "Ranke's Favorite Source: The Venetian Relazioni: Impressions with Allusions to later Historiography," in *Leopold von Ranke and the Shaping of the Historical Discipline*, ed. Georg G. Iggers and James M. Powell (Syracuse: Syracuse Univ. Press, 1990), 45–57.

¹³ For the positive myth, see for instance Gaetano Cozzi, *Il doge Niccolò Contarini: Ricerche sul patriziato veneziano agli inizi del Seicento* (Venice: Istituto per la Collaborazione Culturale, 1958).

¹⁴ Most fully embraced by Frederic Lane and William Bouwsma. American scholars, with notably few exceptions, described Venice by means of looking at the city itself. Only over the past few decades has historiography begun to view Renaissance Venice not only as an urban society. See Frederic C. Lane, "At the Roots of Republicanism," *American Historical Review* 71 (1966): 403–20, William J. Bouwsma, *Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty: Renaissance Values in the Age of the Counter Reformation* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1960), but see also Giovanni Silvano, *La 'Repubblica de' Viniziani': Ricerche sul repubblicanesimo veneziano in età moderna* (Florence: Olschki, 1993), and the discussion of Frederic Lane's work in Melissa M. Bullard, Stephen R. Epstein, Benjamin G. Kohl, and Susan M. Stuard, "Where History and Theory Interact: Frederic C. Lane on the Emergence of Capitalism," *Speculum* 79, no. 1 (2004): 88–119.

For a critique of Frederic Lane's views on Venice, start with Eric Cochran and Julius Kirshner, "Deconstructing Lane's Venice," *Journal of Modern History* 47, no. 2 (1975): 321–34.

after the sixteenth century Venice became decadent and failed to adapt to changing surroundings.¹⁵

Thanks to the waning powers of both myth and anti-myth, contemporary historiography became more and more descriptive in highlighting the paradigmatic contradictions of Venice having been an exemplary role model. As Nicholas Davidson argues, scholars increasingly begun to research the social and legal framework with which the Republic of St Mark exerted its power over its dependent territories.¹⁶ Furthermore, given Venice's history as a multi-cultural, diverse, and multi-ethnic society, there has been a rise in studies about minorities and groups of special interest.¹⁷ As of late, economic and social historians have begun to research Venetian society and are focusing, among other things, on social and gender-related issues.¹⁸ Venice, as concluded by Dennis Romano and John Martin, has been a city not only allowing for a certain degree of upward and downward social mobility but also characterised by re-

¹⁵ While the argument of decadence is much older – most famously argued for by Jean-Jacque Rousseau in the 18th century –, Dennis Romano and John Martin refer to Fernand Braudel's seminal study about the Mediterranean and Venetian decadence at its very core. See Fernand Braudel *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris: Colin, 1949); for the reference to the other scholars, see Romano and Martin, "Reconsidering Venice," 3.

¹⁶ For an overview, see Nicholas S. Davidson, "'In Dialogue with the Past': Venetian Research from the 1960s to the 1990s," *Bulletin of the Society for Renaissance Studies* 15 (1997): 13–24.

For the better understanding of Venetian institutions, see Claudio Povolo, *L'intrigo dell'onere: Poteri e istituzioni nella Repubblica di Venezia tra Cinque e Seicento* (Verona: Cierre, 1997), for a survey about (relative) recent studies about Venice and its dependencies on the Italian mainland, see Michael Knapton, "'Nobiltà e popolo' e un trentennio di storiografia veneta," *Nuova Rivista Storica* 82 (1998): 167–92.

¹⁷ The study of minorities in Venice has seen a considerable increase in publications over the past two to three decades, see, for instance, Brunehilde Imhaus, *Le minoranze orientali a Venezia, 1300–1510* (Rome: Veltrò, 1997), Richard Mackeney, *Tradesmen and Traders: The World of the Guilds in Venice and Europe, c. 1250–c. 1650* (Totowa: Barnes & Noble, 1987), Luca Molà, *La comunità dei Lucchesi a Venezia: Immigrazione e industria della seta nel tardo medioevo* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1994).

There is a vast scope of literature on the Venetian Jewry, for an overview see Cecil Roth, *The History of the Jews in Venice* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1930). For further and more recent information, follow Benjamin C. Ravid, *Studies on the Jews of Venice, 1382–1797* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), especially 3–30, for another recent case study about Jewish communities in Venice's Terraferma dominions, see Angela Möschter, *Juden im venezianischen Treviso, 1389–1509* (Hannover: Hahn, 2008).

¹⁸ For gender-related aspects in Venice, see, inter alia, Stanley Chojnacki, "The Power of Love: Wives and Husbands in Late Medieval Venice," in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1988), 126–48, Stanley Chojnacki, "Dowries and Kinsmen in Early Renaissance Venice," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 5, no. 4 (1975): 571–600, Stanley Chojnacki, "Patrician Women in Early Renaissance Venice," *Studies in the Renaissance* 21 (1974): 176–203, Sally McKee, "Women under Venetian Colonial Rule in the Early Renaissance: Observations on the Economic Activities," *Renaissance Quarterly* 51, no. 1 (1998): 34–67, Jutta G. Sperling and Shona Kelly Wray, eds., *Across the Religious Divide: Women, Property, and Law in the wider Mediterranean, 1300–1800* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), Jutta G. Sperling, *Convents and the Body Politic in late Renaissance Venice* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1999), and Mary Laven, *Virgins of Venice: Broken Vows and Cloistered Lives in the Renaissance* (New York: Viking, 2003).

For comparative reasons, see, for instance, Marilyn Migiel, ed., *Refiguring Woman: Perspectives on Gender and the Italian Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1991), Diane Owen Hughes, "Domestic Ideals and Social Behavior: Evidence from Medieval Genoa," in *The Family in History: Lectures given in Memory of Stephen A. Kaplan under the Auspices of the Department of History at the University of Pennsylvania*, ed. Charles E. Rosenberg (Pittsburgh: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1975), 115–43.

markable geographical mobility. They continue that “the central paradox in Venetian history lies in the sharp contrast between the tendency of the Venetians both to represent and think of themselves in terms of fixed categories and the underlying reality of economic, social, and geographic fluidity.” And these relations between the social and commercial worlds of Venice, constantly in motion, and her self-styled representation as a stable society needed further study and elaboration.¹⁹

ii.i. Venice's Overseas Dominions

Ever since Doge Pietro II Orseolo took personal command of Venice's fleet and set sail to pacify the troubling eastern coast of the Adriatic around the turn of the first millennium, the Serenissima played an important role in the Adriatic as well as in the wider Eastern Mediterranean.²⁰ Over the course of the ensuing two centuries, the Venetians and their commercial and maritime power played an important rule in the crusades, culminating in the conquest and subsequent looting of Constantinople in 1204.²¹ Upon the subsequent establishment of the Latin Empire on the Bosphorus, Venice named itself ruler of three-eighth of the Byzantine Empire, including the valuable territorial gains of Crete (Candia) and Euboea

¹⁹ Romano and Martin, “Reconsidering Venice,” 21.

Given this consideration pertaining to the city of Venice itself and the peripheral character of the *Stato da mar*, especially in the Adriatic, even more needs to be done as regards the overseas societies. As Gherardo Ortalli pointed out, strictly Venice-centred approaches would be inappropriate in grasping the development and any failure to apply a (more) global approach runs the risk of misunderstanding Venice's actions. Gherardo Ortalli, “Beyond the Coast – Venice and the Western Balkans: the Origins of a long Relationship,” in *Balceni occidentali, Adriatico e Venezia fra XIII e XVIII secolo/Der westliche Balkan, der Adriaraum und Venedig (13.–18. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Gherardo Ortalli and Oliver J. Schmitt (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009), 11 (9–25).

²⁰ Having subdued many places along the eastern shores of the Adriatic, the Doge assumed the title “dux Venetorum et Dalmatorum”, however, the expedition did not result in Venice taking direct control at once. See Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom srednjem vijeku* [History of the Croats in the Early Middle Ages] (Zagreb: Školska Knjiga, 1971), 326–9, Lujo Margetić, “Le cause delle spedizione veneziana in Dalmazia nel 1000,” in *Historica et Adriatica: Raccolta di saggi storico-giuridici e storici*, ed. Lujo Margetić (Trieste: Lint, 1983), 218–54, and the introduction in Monique O'Connell, *Men of Empire: Power and Negotiation in Venice's Maritime State* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 2009), 1–15.

For comparative literature about the English/British, Portuguese, and Spanish empires, see John H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492–1830* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2006), Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500–1700: A Political and Economic History* (New York: Longman, 1993).

For related aspects of communication in pre-modern entities, see, for instance, Kenneth Banks, *Chasing Empire across the Sea: Communication and the State in the French Atlantic, 1713–1763* (Montreal: McGill-Queens Univ. Press, 2002).

²¹ Due to the scope of the present thesis, certain events of importance, like the Byzantine–Norman struggle, Constantinople's waning power in Italy, the Adriatic and the Balkans, and the subsequent rise of Venice and Genoa as principle commercial powers in the Eastern Mediterranean, have to be omitted from this review. For an introduction to the scholarly debate about these centuries, see Ortalli, “Beyond the Coast,” 13–25.

For the Byzantine–Venetian relations in the context of the Fourth Crusade, see Donald M. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice: A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1988), 124–47.

(Negroponte).²² Of course, the ever-increasing power and wealth of the Serenissima had also consequences, especially the bitter rivalry with Italy's other successful thalassocracy, the Republic of Genoa.²³ The two merchant republics fought three major wars over the course of roughly a century during the High and Late Middle Ages, culminating in the War of Chioggia (or Tenedos, 1378 to 1381), first seeing the Genoese on the offence, only to be soundly defeated.²⁴ In the end, Venice was able to re-assert its leading role in the Eastern Mediterranean at the expense of its long-time adversary.²⁵

In the wake of the Chioggia War, Venice was able to embark upon another great wave of imperial expansion, accompanied by further extending its economic ties with Occident and Orient alike. Much scholarly research about the Republic of St Mark's fortunes, however, fo-

²² For the medieval possessions of Venice in the Eastern Mediterranean, although under the impression of rapid de-colonisation, see Freddy Thiriet, *La Romanie vénétienne au Moyen Âge: Le développement et l'exploitation du domaine colonial vénétien* (Paris: Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 1959), 63–349.

Furthermore, also Maria Georgopoulou argues that Venice's expansion into the remnants of the Byzantine Empire provided the necessary economic, ideological, and cultural capital to define the Republic of St Mark as an imperial entity. See Maria Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies: Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2001), 3–5, but follow also Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice*, 1–123.

²³ For comparative information about Genoa, see, among others, Michel Balard, "L'amministrazione genovese e veneziana nel Mediterraneo orientale," in *Genova, Venezia, il Levante nei secoli XII–XIV: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Genova–Venezia, 10–14 marzo 2000*, ed. Gherardo Ortalli (Genoa: Società Ligure di Storia Patria, 2001), 201–12, Michel Balard, *La Romanie génoise: XIIIe début du XVe siècle*, 2 vols. (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1978), Claudio Costantini, *La Repubblica di Genova nell'età moderna* (Turin: UTET, 1978), Steven A. Epstein, *Genoa & the Genoese, 958–1528* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1996), Kate Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade in the Early Ottoman State: The merchants of Genoa and Turkey* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1997).

²⁴ For the War of Chioggia, see Freddy Thiriet, "Venise et l'occupation de Tenedos au XIVe siècle," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* (1953): 219–45, and Georgije Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1968), 524–44.

²⁵ For the background of Venice's imperial ambitions, see also David S. Chambers, *The Imperial Age of Venice, 1380–1580* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1970), Walter Lenel, *Die Entstehung der Vorherrschaft Venedigs in der Adria* (Strasbourg: Trübner, 1897), as well as Michael E. Mallett and John R. Hale, eds., *The Military Organization of a Renaissance State: Venice, ca. 1400 to 1617* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1984).

cuses on banking and maritime trading.²⁶ Yet, Venice, a point stressed by Frederic Lane, was also one of Europe's sixteenth-century foremost centres of manufacturing.²⁷ Over the past decades, certain political and economic frameworks have been reconsidered, putting more emphasis to the roles of work, land management, and a more diversified approach to the basic structures of Venice and its far-flung possessions.²⁸

ii.ii. Dalmatian Historiography

The history of the Adriatic from the Middle Ages onwards constitutes a multi-faceted topic – and a problem deeply rooted in both Croatian as well as Italian history and historiography.²⁹ Also, the situation on the ground has first been documented by Dalmatian scholars from an

²⁶ Given the large amounts of work pertaining to Venice's commercial and economic history, the indications given here are, by no means, complete. Despite these facts, a relative recent overview including bibliographical commentary and additional hints is given in Crouzet-Pavan, *Venice Triumphant*, 84–96.

Other starting points include the works by Benjamin Arbel, *Trading Nations, Jews and Venetians in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), Eliyahu Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1983), David Jacoby, *Byzantium, Latin Romania and the Mediterranean* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), David Jacoby, *Trade, commodities and shipping in the medieval Mediterranean* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1997), David Jacoby, *Recherches sur la Méditerranée orientale du XIIe au XVe siècle: Peoples, sociétés, économies* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1979), Frederic C. Lane and Reinhold C. Mueller, *Money and Banking in medieval and Renaissance Venice*, 2 vols. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1985–1997), Gino Luzzatto, *Storia economica di Venezia dall'XI al XVI secolo* (Venice: Marsilio, 1995).

Further, more detailed aspects of Venetian commerce and economy can be accessed in Jean-Claude Hocquet, *Denaro, Navi e Mercanti a Venezia, 1200–1600* (Rome: Veltro, 1999), Jean-Claude Hocquet, *Le sel et la fortune de Venise*, 2 vols. (Lille: Publications de l'Université de Lille III, 1978–1979), Frederic C. Lane, *Andrea Barbarigo: Merchant of Venice* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1944), Frederic C. Lane and Benjamin G. Kohl, eds., *Studies in Venetian social and economic history* (London: Variorum, 1987), Frederic C. Lane, *Venetian Ships and Shipbuilders of the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1934), Brian S. Pullan, *Crisis and Change in the Venetian economy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (London: Methuen, 1968).

²⁷ For an overview about Frederic Lane's extensive research about Venice, see Hermann Kellenbenz, "Frederic C. Lane," *Journal of European Economic History* 17 (1988): 159–84.

²⁸ As pointed out by Dennis Romano and John Martin, more emphasis on gender roles, its consequences and implications for society is needed. In addition, the concepts of social positions between secular and ecclesiastical members of society needs further exploration. Romano and Martin, "Reconsidering Venice," 8, 22.

Further starting points include Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), Elizabeth Horodowich, "The Gossiping Tongue: Oral Networks, Public Life and Political Culture in Early Modern Venice," *Renaissance Studies* 19, no. 1 (2005): 22–45, Filippo de Vivo, "The Diversity of Venice and Her Myths," *The Historical Journal* 47, no. 1 (2004): 169 (167–77), as well as Michel Balard, ed. *État et colonisation au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance* (Lyon: Manufacture, 1998), 17–36.

This holds true, especially considering Linda Guzzetti's study about the social and economic situation of Venetian women, in which she points out that most notaries in 14th-century Venice have, in fact, been clerics and/or priests. Linda Guzzetti, *Venezianische Vermögensverhältnisse: Die soziale und wirtschaftliche Situation von Frauen im Spiegel spätmittelalterlicher Testamente* (Stuttgart and Weimar: Metzler, 1998), 22–8.

²⁹ As stated, for instance by Drago Roksandić in the preface of Tea Mayhew's thesis, another comparable remark by Egidio Ivetić in the same book) states that there are not many studies about early modern Venetian Dalmatia of this scope (like Tea Mayhew's study), "based on research open to historiographical dialogues, surpassing self-referential historical 'truth'." Quoted in Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 7, 12.

A good general overview about historiography in per-modern Southeast Europe can be found in Karl Kaser, *Südosteuropäische Geschichte und Geschichtswissenschaft* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2002), 127–72.

Italian point of view.³⁰ Yet, there also exist Yugoslav – that is Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin, and Serbian – studies about the Ottoman–Venetian conflicts during the early modern period but these are little known in the West.³¹ In the tradition of viewing Christendom's fateful struggle for freedom from Islam subjection, historiography often missed putting the Adriatic periphery of the Venetian empire into the wider context of events pertaining to both the Republic of St Mark and the Ottoman Empire.³² This view, usually, considered the perceived Venetian reluctance to fight all-out wars – like the Candian or Cretan War (1645 to 1669) – as negative, and, at times, even treacherous.³³

Because of the problem of projecting personal positions and biases into the history of the past, those who wish to engage in studies about Dalmatia need to approach parts of the older literature with care. Too often, history and historiography had to serve as the justification for territorial ambitions. This holds especially true for the nineteenth and parts of the twentieth century. Also, parts of the discussed and referenced publications, especially those written in

³⁰ See, for instance, Angelo De Benvenuti, *Storia di Zara dal 1409 al 1797* (Milan: Bocca, 1944) and Giuseppe Praga, *Storia di Dalmazia* (Varese: Dall'Oglio, 1981). First published in 1944 in Milan, Giuseppe Praga's book has been translated and reprinted ever since – unlike the work by his Yugoslav counterpart, Grga Novak (see the note below).

³¹ Among others, see Grga Novak, *Prošlost Dalmacije* [The Past of Dalmatia], 2 vols. (Zagreb: Izdanje Hrvatskog Izdavačkog i bibliografskog Zavoda, 1944), and Gligor Stanojević, *Jugoslovenske zemlje u mletačko-turским ratovima, XVI–XVIII vijeka* [The Yugoslav Lands during the Venetian–Ottoman wars, 16th to 18th centuries] (Belgrade: Istorijski institut, 1970).

³² In general, follow Bernard Doumerc, “L'Adriatique du XIIIe–XVIIe siècle,” in *Histoire de l'Adriatique*, ed. Pierre Cabanes (Paris: Seuil, 2001), 203–311.

For references pertaining to other parts of the Adriatic possessions of Venice and adjacent regions, see, for instance, Alain Ducellier, *La façade maritime de l'Albanie au Moyen Âge: Durazzo et Valona du XIe au XVe siècle* (Salonica: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1981), Giuseppe Gelcich, *La Zedda e la Dinastia dei Balšidi: Studi storici e documentati* (Split: Tipografia Sociale Spalatina, 1899), and Oliver J. Schmitt, *Das venezianische Albanien, 1392–1479* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2001).

³³ This view of historiography ascribes Christendom's struggle against the Ottoman threat without placing it into the wider Ottoman–Venetian context. In Grga Novak's History of Dalmatia, for instance, this is all but presented as Venetian failure to understand the local, i.e. Albanian, and Dalmatian needs. Today we do know that, for instance, the Genoese had specific orders from Charles V in both battles, off Preveza and Lepanto, to avoid direct engagements with the enemy fleet. Also, one needs to consider the state of the Venetian economy which, in the 16th century was far more dependent on Levantine trading. Once this had changed, the Republic of St Mark did engage in generation-long fighting. Norwich, *History of Venice*, 489–91.

After the Cyprus War, the *Stato da mar* became increasingly marginal to the affairs of state, but also in economic terms: Francis I of France struck a commercial agreement with the Sublime Porte in 1536, shortly afterwards followed by the English crown. For a detailed overview about the developments in Venice's overseas possessions, follow Benjamin Arbel, “Colonie d'oltremare,” in *Storia di Venezia: Il rinascimento: Società ed Economia*, vol. 5, ed. Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci (Rome: Enciclopedia Italiana, 1996), 979–80 (947–85).

For the economic consequences, follow Bernard Doumerc, “Il dominio del mare,” in *Storia di Venezia: Il rinascimento: Società ed Economia*, vol. 5, ed. Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci (Rome: Enciclopedia Italiana, 1996), 176–8 (113–80).

the (Yugo–) Slavic languages may only have been partly received by western historians due to a lack of language skills.³⁴

Ever since the first publication of his six books on the Kingdom of Dalmatia and Croatia in the seventeenth century, Ivan Lučić (Giovanni Lucio) is commonly referred to as the father of Croatian historiography. A native of Trogir (Traù), he is also known under his Latin name Johannes Lucius. His work, *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae*, first published in Amsterdam in 1666 and his studies on the legal and cultural development of his hometown, published in Venice in 1673, make his works stand out in the Adriatic context of his time.³⁵ However, Dubrovnik was not the only centre of Slavic literacy, as evidenced by the two natives of Zadar, Simon Budineus (Šime Budinić) and Bernardinus Carnarutus (Brne Karnarutić). Both left written evidence of this claim which is discussed in detail in the fourth part of the study.³⁶

After the demise of the Venetian Republic, the nineteenth century saw a rising interest in medieval and early modern accounts and sources from Albania and Dalmatia. Inspired by Leopold von Ranke's œuvre, scholars of Austria–Hungary started to analyse, edit, and publish

³⁴ Apart from the above-mentioned (partially problematic) Dalmatian history by Giuseppe Praga, the best general sources about the Dalmatian Middle Ages are Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u srednjem vijeku* [History of the Croats in the Middle Ages] (Zagreb: Biblioteka Posebna izdanja, 1990), Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijanom srednjem vijeku* [History of the Croats in the High Middle Ages] (Zagreb: Školska Knjiga, 1976), and Tomislav Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje: Prostor, ljudi, ideje* [The Croatian Middle Ages. Spaces, People, Ideas] (Zagreb: Školska Knjiga, 1997).

Much less is available in western languages, among the most recent is *Croatia and Europe*, 2 vols, ed. Ivo Supićić (London: Wilson, 1999–2008).

³⁵ Nonetheless, Croatian chronicles are much older, dating back to archbishop Grgur (Gregorius) of Bar (Antibari/Antivari). For his chronicles from the last decades of the 12th century, see Eduard Peričić, ed., *Sclavorum Regnum: Grgura Barskog: Ljetopis popa Dukljanina* [Kingdom of the Slavs: Gregory of Bar: Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja] (Zagreb: Kršćanska Sadašnjost, 1991).

For more recent approaches to Croatian historiography, see Giovanni Lucio and Bruna Kuntić, ed., *O kraljevstvu Dalmacije i Hrvatske* [About the Kingdoms of Dalmatia and Croatia] (Zagreb: Latina et Graeca, 1986), and Ivan Lucius–Lučić and Jakov Stipšić, ed., *Povijesna svjedočanstva o Trogiru* [Trogir in Historical Literature] (Split: Čakavski Sabor, 1979).

³⁶ The former, while a notary public and a cleric, inter alia worked on Slavic translations of ecclesiastical and/or instructional writings in Rome in the wake of the Council of Trent. His works include *Pokorni i mnozi inii psalmi Davidavi carminice* [Humble and meek psalms in the songs of David] and *Izpravik za erei izpovidnici, i za pokornici* [Breve directorium ad confessarii ac confitentis munus recte obeundum], a translation of Juan de Polanco's writings into Slovene. For recent scholarly research about Simon Budineus, see Josip Vidaković, "Cultural–political history of Zadar with emphasis on History of Printing Book and Script," in *Proceedings of the 11th International Conference of Printing, Design and Graphic Communications Blaž Borović, Zadar September 26th–29th, 2007*, ed. Zdenka Bolanča (Zagreb: Faculty of Graphic Arts, 2007), 16–7 (15–8), Peter Burke, "The Renaissance Translator as Go–Between," in *Renaissance go–betweens: Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Andreas Höfele and Werner von Koppenfels (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005), 29 (17–31), and Tomislav Raukar, Ivo Petricoli, Franjo Švelec, and Šime Peričić, *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom, 1409–1797* [Zadar under the Venetian administration, 1409–1797] (Zadar: Narodni List, 1987), 413–6.

For references to Simon Budineus pioneering use of diacritic signs, see Milan Moguš, *A History of the Croatian Language: Towards a common standard* (Zagreb: Globus, 1995), 77–8.

For Bernardinus Carnarutus contribution to the Slavic language – he wrote its first heroic epic about the Ottoman siege and capture of Szigetvár in 1566 – see part four and John V. Fine, *When Ethnicity did not matter in the Balkans: A Study of Identity in pre–nationalist Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods* (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 2006), 197.

sources about the history of the Habsburg Empire's Albanian and Slavic peoples.³⁷ After the founding of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb (Agram) in 1866, Šime Ljubić started to compile and comment on the directives and filed reports of Venetian public officials in Albania and Dalmatia within the framework of the *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*. His legacy was continued in the second half of the twentieth century by Grga Novak, who edited and published a number of volumes of these Venetian directives and relations.³⁸

Over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, a number of large, synthetic works about Croatian history were published. Among these were Šime Ljubić's overview of Croatian history (1884) and Vjekoslav Klaić's monumental history of Croatia³⁹ as well as Tade Smičiklas's and Ferdo Šišić's histories of the Croats and Croatia.⁴⁰ Written on the eve of the Great War, Vitaliano Brunelli's *Storia della città di Zara* is a collection of various sources, however, it was written from an exclusively Italian point of view. Furthermore, due to the end date of his compendium being 1409, the information contained covers exclusively the Middle Ages.⁴¹ The most recent contribution has been Stjepan Antoljak's survey of fourteen centuries of Croatian historiography.⁴²

Apart from these works, there exist a number of studies focusing on single cities and/or aspects of individual towns. For instance, Ivan Pederin wrote about Šibenik (Sebenico) and Split (Spalato), Vladimir Rismondo about shipping in Split during the fourteenth century, and

³⁷ Among the most productive of these scholars were Konstantin Jireček, Milan von Šufflay, and Lajos Thallóczy, to name a few examples. For more information, see Horst Prentler, "Josef Konstantin Jireček: Sein akademisches Wirken an der Universität Wien von 1893 bis 1918 und seine Zeit als bulgarischer Unterrichtsminister von 1881 bis 1882" (PhD diss., Univ. of Vienna, 1980), Lajos Thallóczy, ed., *Illyrisch-albanische Forschungen*, 2 vols. (Munich and Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1916), as well as, for instance, the collaborative effort by the two latter historians, Lajos Thallóczy and Milan von Šufflay, eds., *Acta diplomata res Albaniae mediae aetatis illustrantia*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Holzhausen, 1913–1918).

³⁸ Šime Ljubić, ed., *Listine o odnošajih između južnoga slavenstva i Mletačke Republike* [Dispatches on the relationship between South-Slavic peoples and the Venetian Republic], 10 vols. (Zagreb: Župan Albreht i Fidler, 1868–1891), and Šime Ljubić and Grga Novak, eds., *Commissiones et relationes Venetae: Mletačka i Uputstva i izveštaji* [Commissiones et Relationes Venetae. Venetian Directives and Reports], 8 vols. (Zagreb: Academia scientiarum et artium slavorum meridionalium, 1876–1977).

³⁹ Šime Ljubić, *Pregled hrvatske poviesti* [An Overview of Croatian History] (Riečki: Mohović, 1884), Vjekoslav Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX. stoljeća* [Croatian History from the Oldest Days to the End of the 19th century], 5 vols. (Zagreb: Hartmana, 1899–1911).

⁴⁰ Tade Smičiklas, *Povijest hrvatska po vrelih* [Croatian History through the Times], 2 vols. (Zagreb: Nakladni Zavod Matice Hrvatske, 1879–1882), and Ferdo Šišić, *Hrvatska povijest od najstarijih dana do potkraj 1918* [Croatian History from the Oldest Days until 1918] (Zagreb: Izdanje Troškom Naklade Školkih Knjiga, 1925).

⁴¹ Vitaliano Brunelli and John J. James, ed., *Storia della città di Zara: Dai tempi più remoti sino al 1409* (Trieste: Lint, 1974).

⁴² Stjepan Antoljak, *Hrvatski historiografija* [Croatian Historiography] (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 2004), and Stjepan Antoljak, *Hrvati u prošlosti: Izabrani radovi* [Croats in Past Times: Selected Papers] (Split: Književni Krug, 1992).

Miroslav Brandt focused on John Wycliffe's ideas and its impacts on Dalmatian social life over the same period.⁴³

ii.iii. Zadar and the Ragusan Republic

Before finally turning to the methodic approaches and the sources of the thesis, one must also consider, in more detail, the state of research pertaining to Zadar proper and, for comparative reasons, the *Respublica Ragusina*, centred on its capital, Dubrovnik (Ragusa).

After the turbulent centuries following the demise of the Roman Empire, the region along the oriental littoral of the Adriatic became a part of the Byzantine Empire.⁴⁴ After the Slavic migration to the Balkans, Dalmatia was claimed by and contested between both Christian emperors during the early ninth century.⁴⁵ Venice first expanded along the oriental coasts of the Adriatic around the turn of the first millennium, an influence which, although disrupted for the second half of the fourteenth century, did not cease until the downfall of the Republic of St Mark in 1797. Until then, no further large adjustments took place in Dalmatia itself, except for the occasional changes in border demarcations the course of the ensuing centuries.⁴⁶

⁴³ Ivan Pederin, "Appunti e notizie su Spalato nel Quattrocento," *Studi Veneziani* 21 (1992): 323–409, Ivan Pederin, "Šibenik (Sebenico) nel basso medioevo fino al 1440," *Archivio Storico Italiano* 149 (1991): 811–85, Vladimir Rismondo, *Pomorski Split druge polovine XIV. st.: Notarske imbrevijature* [Shipping in Split around the mid–14th century: Notarial manuscripts] (Split: Izdanje Muzeja grada Splita, 1954), and Miroslav Brandt, *Wyclifova hereza i socialni pokreti u Splitu krajem XIV. st.* [Wycliffe's heresy and social movements in Split in the late 14th century] (Zagreb: Kultura, 1955).

⁴⁴ For ancient Dalmatia, see Géza Alföldy, *Bevölkerung und Gesellschaft der römischen Provinz Dalmatien* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1956), and John J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia* (London: Routledge & Paul, 1969).

For late antiquity and early Middle Ages in the context of Dalmatia and Croatia, see John V. Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the sixth to the late twelfth century* (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1989), 9–24, 248–92.

Little literature about the Croatian Middle Ages exists in Western languages, among the most recent is Tomislav Raukar, "Croatia within Europe," in *Croatia and Europe: Culture, Arts and Sciences: Croatia in the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, vol. 2, ed. Ivo Supićić (London: Wilson, 2008), 7–40.

⁴⁵ After the peace of Aachen (812) between the Byzantine and Frankish Empires, only the coastal regions remained under Constantinople's suzerainty, called Dalmatia. The northern and eastern regions soon became known as Slavonia and Croatia. For an overview of Byzantine–Venetian relations in addition to the above-referenced ones, see Giorgio Ravegnani, *Bisanzio e Venezia* (Bologna: Mulino, 2006).

For the Byzantine period of suzerainty over Dalmatia, follow Jadran Ferluga, *L'Amministrazione Bizantina in Dalmazia* (Venice: Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Venezie, 1978), Ludwig Steindorff, *Die dalmatinischen Städte im 12. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1984), and Paul Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier: A Political Study of the Northern Balkans, 900–1204* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2000).

⁴⁶ In 1358 Venice and Hungary signed the Zadarski mir [Peace of Zara], stipulating that the Republic of St Mark relinquished its claims to Dalmatia and Dubrovnik. While the former became a Hungarian province, the latter de iure accepted Hungarian suzerainty while re-asserting its quasi-independence, lasting until 1808. No further large changes occurred until the 17th and 18th centuries when the Venetians conquered vast stretches of hinterland from the Ottomans. Today, the Ulica Zadarskoga mira 1358 [Street of the Treaty of Zadar, 1358] and a copy of the treaty in St Francis church commemorate the event. For the reference, Ivo Goldstein, *Croatia: A History*, trans. Nikolina Jovanović (London: Hurst, 1999), 27.

In 1409 the Venetians regained control of Zadar and its environs, taking advantage of the dynastic turmoil in neighbouring Hungary.⁴⁷ By now, a large numbers of articles, studies and monographs relating to various aspects of Dalmatian history exist, originating on both sides of the Adriatic. Among them are editions of primary sources⁴⁸, case studies focusing on single towns⁴⁹, or the advancing Ottoman Empire in the early modern era.⁵⁰ In the context of this study, though, Tomislav Raukar and his lifelong dedication to the Dalmatian Middle Ages and its subsequent centuries in and around Zadar stand out.⁵¹ Covering many aspects, ranging from an economic history of Jadertine society during the fifteenth century to single case studies about the socio-economic developments, his scholarly legacy is of major importance.⁵² In

⁴⁷ For Zadar in general, see the multi-volume edition about its past, Dinko Foretić, ed., *Prošlost Zadra* [The Past of Zadar], 3 vols. (Zadar: Narodni list, 1976–1987). Mate Suić, *Zadar u starom vijeku* [Zadar in the Old Time] (Zadar: Narodni list, 1981) = *Prošlost Zadra*, vol. 1; Nada Klaić and Ivo Petricoli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku do 1409* [Zadar in the Middle Ages until 1409] (Zadar: Narodni list, 1976) = *Prošlost Zadra*, vol. 2.

For legal issues relating to Venice's take-over in Dalmatia, see Gaetano Cozzi, "La politica del diritto nella Repubblica di Venezia," in *Repubblica di Venezia e stati italiani: Politica e giustizia dal secolo XVI al secolo XVIII*, ed. Gaetano Cozzi (Turin: Einaudi, 1982), 250–61 (227–61).

⁴⁸ Among the most important editions are the Venetian reports by Šime Ljubić and Grga Novak, however, by now also Zadar's codified statutes, written in 1564 and first published a year later in Venice, have been edited by Josip Kolanović and Mate Križman, eds., *Zadarski statut sa svim reformacijama odnosno novim uredbama donesenima do godine 1563* [Zadar's statute with all the reformations and new regulations adopted by the year 1563] (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1997).

In addition, editions of legal documents relating to other Dalmatian cities are available, too. See Vedran Gligo, ed., *Zlatna knjiga grada Splita: Textus cum regestis et apparatu critico* [The Golden Book of the city of Split: Textus cum regestis et apparatu critico], 2 vols. (Split: Književni Krug, 1996–2006), and Slavo Grubišić, ed., *Knjiga statuta zakona i reformacija grada Šibenika* [Book of Statutes, Laws, and Reformations of the town of Šibenik] (Šibenik: Muzej grada Šibenika, 1982).

⁴⁹ Grga Novak, *Povijest Splita* [The Past of Split], 3 vols. (Split: Škuna, 2005), Tomislav Raukar, "Komunalna društva u Dalmaciji u XV. i u prvoj polovici XVI. stoljeća [Commune societies in Dalmatia in the 15th century and the First Half of the 16th century]," *Historijski zbornik* 25 (1982): 43–118.

⁵⁰ For the Ottoman Empire in the context of the present study, see, inter alia, Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1923* (London: Murray, 2005), Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300–1650: The Structure of Power* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey: Empire of the Gazis: The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1280–1808* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1976), and Andrew Wheatcroft, *The Ottomans* (New York: Viking, 1993).

⁵¹ As already mentioned above, this contribution to Dinko Foretić's multi-volume edition deserves a note on its own: Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom* = *Prošlost Zadra*, vol. 3.

⁵² Tomislav Raukar, ed., *Studije o Dalmaciji u srednjem vijeku* [Studies about Dalmatia in the Middle Ages] (Split: Književni Krug, 2007), a collection of papers and publications of Tomislav Raukar's thirty-plus year research on medieval and early modern Dalmatia.

Tomislav Raukar, "Venezia, il sale e la struttura economica e sociale della Dalmazia nel XV e XVI secolo," in *Sale e saline nell'Adriatico, secoli XV–XX*, ed. Antonio di Vittorio (Naples: Giannini, 1981), 145–56, Tomislav Raukar, *Zadar u XV. stoljeću: Ekonomski razvoj i društveni odnosi* [Zadar in the 15th century: The Economic Development and Social Relations] (Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu – Institut za hrvatsku povijest, 1977), Tomislav Raukar, "Cives, habitatores, forenses u srednjovjekovnim dalmatinskim gradovima [Cives, habitatores, forenses in medieval Dalmatian cities]," *Historijski zbornik* 23–24 (1976–1977): 139–49, and Tomislav Raukar, "Zadarska trgovina solju u XIV i XV stoljeću [Zadar's salt trade in the 14th and 15th centuries]," *Radovi filozofskog fakulteta: Odsijek za povijest Zagreb* 7–8 (1969–1970): 19–79.

For recent studies and bibliographical references, see Neven Budak and Tomislav Raukar, eds., *Hrvatska povijest srednjeg vijeka* [The History of Croatia in the Middle Ages] (Zagreb: Školska Knjiga, 2006), especially the section labelled "Novija literatura" [new literature], which also includes commentary on the discussed publications on pages 428–32.

addition to Tomislav Raukar's works, a number of historians detailed various other aspects of Jadertine history, although not much of it as of late.⁵³

For the decades after the peace of Bologna, however, the literature density is far lower. With the notable exceptions of Tea Mayhew's study about Zadar's hinterlands around 1700 and the works of the research group around Egidio Ivetić, Josip Kolanović and Drago Roksandić on the military frontiers between the Habsburg, Ottoman, and Venetian empires, between 1500 and 1800, little scholarly effort has been focused on early modern Dalmatia.⁵⁴ Not much attention and research has been undertaken to implement new methodical approaches as regards the economic and social history of early modern Dalmatia. With the exception of Du-

⁵³ Nikola Čolak, "Poljoprivreda zadarske komune u ranom srednjem vijeku [Agriculture in the commune of Zadar in the Early Middle Ages]," *Rad. JAZU-Zd.* 9 (1962): 163–90, Maja Novak-Sambrailo, "Plemići, građani i pučani u Zadru (XV–XVII st.) [Nobles, citizens, and commoners in Zadar, 15th–17th centuries]," *Rad. JAZU-Zd.* 19 (1972): 167–86, Ivan Pederin, "Das venezianische Handelssystem und die Handelspolitik in Dalmatien (1409–1797)," *Studi Veneziani* 14 (1987): 91–177, Ivan Pederin, "Die wichtigsten Ämter der venezianischen Verwaltung und der Einfluß venezianischer Organe auf die Zustände in Dalmatien," *Studi Veneziani* 20 (1990): 303–54, and Petar Runje, "Lazaret u pregradu srednjovjekovnog Zadra i njegovi kapelani [The suburban lazaretto in medieval Zadar and its chaplains]," *Rad. HAZU-Zd.* 39 (1997): 81–116.

⁵⁴ These works focus on the Dalmatian–Bosnian–Croatian *Triplex Confinium* (triple frontier, emphasis by the author) between the three above–mentioned empires, the most recent being Tea Mayhew's PhD thesis, published in 2008. The scholars focusing on this area between 1500 and 1800 have been very productive and applied diversified and innovative methodical approaches.

For these works, see Egidio Ivetić, ed., *Tolerance and Intolerance on the Triplex Confinium: Approaching the Other on the borderlands Eastern Adriatic and Beyond, 1500–1800* (Padua: CLEUP, 2007), Drago Roksandić, *Triplex Confinium ili O granicama i regijama hrvatske povijesti 1500–1800* [Triplex Confinium or on Borders/Frontiers and Spaces in Croatian History, 1500–1800] (Zagreb: Barbat, 2003), Drago Roksandić, ed., *Triplex Confinium (1500–1800): Ekohistorija: Radova s međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa održanog od 3. do 7. svibnja 2000. u Zadru* [Triplex Confinium, 1500–1800: Ecohistory: Proceedings of the international conference held in Zadar, 3–7 May, 2000] (Split: Književni Krug, 2003), and Mirela Slukan, *Kartografski izvori za povijest Triplex Confiniuma* [Cartographic Sources for the History of the Triplex Confinium] (Zagreb: Hrvatski Državni Arhiv, 1999). For the project's web presence and further information on the research group, see "Croatian Multiple Borderlands in Euro–Mediterranean Context," *Triplex Confinium*, accessed 3 September, 2010, http://www.ffzg.hr/pov/zavod/triplex/triplex_confinium_homepage.htm.

brovnik⁵⁵, little effort has gone into the furthering of our understanding and knowledge of these developments. To sum it up in the words of Tomislav Raukar: “Pa ipak, upravo u šezdesetim godinama takva istraživanja pokazuju zasto i donose malo novih rezultata. Samo je Dubrovnik i njegov gospodarski razvoj, napose trgovačke veze sa zaleđem i mediteransko-jadranskim područjem, i dalje bio predmet marljiva istraživanja pa su se na XIV. stoljeće odnosili radovi Bariše Krekića, Desanke Kovačević, Dušanke Dinić, Vinka Foretića i Ignacija Vojea.”⁵⁶

⁵⁵ The literature about Dubrovnik is extensive and covers a wide range of issues, for its most detailed history, see Vinko Foretić, *Povijest Dubrovnika do 1808* [The History of Dubrovnik until 1808], 2 vols. (Zagreb: Nakladni Zavod Matice Hrvatske, 1980).

For more specific aspects, see, inter alia, Antonio Di Vittorio and Sergio Anselmi, eds., *Ragusa e il Mediterraneo: Ruolo e funzioni di una Repubblica marinara tra Medioevo ed età Moderna* (Bari: Cacucci, 1990), Boško I. Bojović, *Raguse (Dubrovnik) et l'Empire Ottoman (1430–1520): Les actes impériaux ottoman en vieux-Serbe de Murad II à Selim Ier* (Paris: Association Pierre Belon, 1988), Zdenka Janeković-Römer, *Maruša ili suđenje ljubavi: Bračno-ljubavna priča srednjovjekovnog Dubrovnika* [Maruša or Trial of Love: A marital love story from medieval Dubrovnik] (Zagreb: Algoritam, 2008), Zdenka Janeković-Römer, *Opis slavnoga grada Dubrovnika: Hrvatski-latinski* [Description of the Slavic City of Dubrovnik: Croatian-Latin] (Zagreb: Dom i Svijet, 2004), Zdenka Janeković-Römer, *Višegradski ugovor temelj Dubrovačke Republike* [Visegrád Privilege: Foundations of the Republic of Dubrovnik] (Zagreb, Golden Marketing, 2003), Zdenka Janeković-Römer, *Rod i grad: Dubrovačko obitelj od XIII do XV stoljeća* [Kinship and the City: Dubrovnik's Families from the 13th to the 15th centuries] (Dubrovnik: Hrvatska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti u Zagrebu, 1994), Bariša Krekić, *Unequal Rivals: Essays on Relations between Dubrovnik and Venice in the 13th and 14th centuries* (Zagreb: Hrvatska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti u Dubrovniku, 2007), Bariša Krekić, *Dubrovnik i Levant* [Dubrovnik and the Levant] (Belgrade: Naučno Delo, 1956), and Susan M. Stuard, *A State of Deference: Ragusa/Dubrovnik in the Medieval Centuries* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1992).

The given sample of literature is, by far, not complete, for further bibliographical references about Dubrovnik's past, see Neven Budak, “Prilog bibliografiji grada Dubrovnika i Dubrovačke republike na stranim jezicima [Contribution to the bibliography about the city and Republic of Dubrovnik in foreign languages],” *Analiza Zavoda za povijesne znanosti* 35 (1997): 195–239.

⁵⁶ An approximate translation would be: “However, it is precisely in the 16th century that such research caused delays and brought only few new results. With the exception of Dubrovnik and its economic development, especially its commercial and trading relations with its hinterland and the Mediterranean-Adriatic area are still the object of diligent research as related studies about the 14th century by Bariša Krekić, Desanka Kovačević, Dušanka Dinić, Vinko Foretić, and Ignacij Vojea document.” Quoted after Tomislav Raukar, “Komunalna društva u Dalmaciji u XIV. stoljeću [Commune societies in Dalmatia in the 14th century],” in *Studije o Dalmaciji u srednjem vijeku* [Studies about Dalmatia in the Middle Ages], ed. Tomislav Raukar (Split: Književni Krug, 2007), 78 (69–139) = reprint of an article published in *Historijski zbornik* 23–24 (1980–1981): 139–209.

Apart from the works by Bariša Krekić and Vinko Foretić given above, see also Desanka Kovačević, “La Serbie dans l'économie de Venise au XVème siècle,” in *Balceni occidentali, Adriatico e Venezia fra XIII e XVIII secolo/ Der westliche Balkan, der Adriaum und Venedig (13.–18. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Gherardo Ortalli and Oliver J. Schmitt (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009), 39–52, Desanka Kovačević-Kojić, *Trgovačke knjige brać Kabužić (Caboga)* [Account of books of the Caboga (Kabužić) brothers] (Belgrade: Srpska Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti, 1999), Dušanka Dinić-Knežević, *Migracije stanovništva iz južno-slovenskih zemalja u Dubrovnik tokom srednjeg veka* [The migration of the population from south-Slavic lands to Dubrovnik in the Middle Ages] (Novi Sad: Srpska Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti, Ogranak u Novom Sadu, 1995), Dušanka Dinić-Knežević, *Dubrovnik i Ugarska u srednjem veku* [Dubrovnik and Hungary in the Middle Ages] (Novi Sad: Srpska Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti, Ogranak u Novom Sadu, 1986), Ignacij Voje, *Poslovna uspešnost trgovcev v srednjeveskem Dubrovniku* [Business relations of traders in medieval Dubrovnik] (Ljubljana: Znanstveni Inštitut Filozofske Fakultete, 2003), as well as Ignacij Voje and Desanka Kovačević, eds., *Kreditna trgovina u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku* [The medieval credit market in Dubrovnik] (Sarajevo: Društvenih nauka, 1976).

iii. Methodical Considerations

As already amply demonstrated, individuals embedded in their respective social, economic, and geographical environs, may be analysed, detailed, and ultimately described by means of hand-written accounts.⁵⁷ In the context of the present study these sources, abundant in some parts of Europe from the late Middle Ages onwards, will focus exclusively on personal and class interactions within a model society. As Diane Owen Hughes stressed, “[the] role of the household within such a society can be discerned in at least one form of documentation, notarial acts.” Divisions of wealth, social and/or gender status, and modification of class affiliation, as exemplified for instance by her own research on medieval Genoa, can be overcome for a variety of reasons, including growing prosperity, social mobility, and the lack of economic specialisation.⁵⁸

In order to overcome the traditional social strata of aristocracy, clergy, artisans, and commoners, the present thesis applies a more diversified approach to the raw data contained in the notarial acts. Following Neven Budak’s initial division into secular and ecclesiastical urban

⁵⁷ Considered by Peter Laslett and Richard Wall in the early 1970s, the household structures and their underlying implications pertaining to its organisational and functional implications have proven to be identifiable for parts of Europe from the 15th century onwards. Paraphrased after Owen Hughes, “Domestic Ideals,” 115–6.

For corresponding remarks by the two afore-mentioned scholars, see Peter Laslett and Richard Wall, eds., *Household and Family in Past Time: Comparative studies in the size and structure of the domestic group over the last three centuries in England, France, Serbia, Japan and colonial North America, with further materials from Western Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1972), 1–81.

See further Diane Owen Hughes’ PhD thesis on a member of the Genoese merchant aristocracy based upon notarial records: Diane Owen Hughes, “Antonio Pessagno: Merchant of Genoa” (PhD diss., Yale Univ., 1968).

⁵⁸ Diane Owen Hughes continues to enumerate the various types of said records, namely marriage contracts, dowry bequests, divorce proceedings, legitimations, commercial contracts and apprenticeships, wills, testaments, (estate) inventories, guardianships, real estate transactions, and arbitration agreements. Owen Hughes, “Domestic Ideals,” 116.

Furthermore, the difficulties of social classification into black–white schemes has, for some time, proved to be arbitrary and ineffective, as the present study will show. See Robert L. Reynolds, “In Search of a Business Class in Thirteenth–Century Genoa,” *Journal of Economic History* 5, Supplement: *The Tasks of Economic History* (1945): 1–19.

elites⁵⁹, the records preserved in the Državni arhiv u Zadru (Croatian State Archive in Zadar) suggest pursuing the additional compartmentation in political, economic, and intellectual groups⁶⁰ within their distinct geographical ranges of activities. In a first analytical step the contracting parties, identifiable by the remarks about them left by the notaries public, are categorised in the traditional strata, nobility, clergy, artisans – identifiable via their craft descriptions and/or title –, and commoners. While most members of these three to four groups have both Latin and/or Italian names, many also bear Slavic names and/or surnames.⁶¹ In addition, many documents also mentioned geographic indicators, of considerable importance in the first part in which the geographical ranges are established.⁶²

In a second step, these social strata will be augmented by two more functional group definitions: The merchants of Venice, easily identifiable by their job descriptions, namely titles like mercator (merchant) or aromataris (spice trader). These distinctions render it possible to single out individuals and groups of individuals engaged in commerce and trade actively par-

⁵⁹ As Linda Guzzetti highlights, up until the 14th century, most public notaries in Venice were priests and worked in and/or close to their respective parishes. In the following century, in a perceived backlash against secularisation of priesthood, members of the clergy were forbidden to engage in such mundane things. This culminated in the 15th and 16th century when priests were forbidden to serve as notaries, see Guzzetti, *Venezianische Vermächtnisse*, 18–28 as well as Giorgio Cracco, “Relinquere laicis e que laicorum sunt: Un intervento di Eugenio IV contro i preti-notai di Venezia,” *Bollettino dell'Istituto di Storia della Società e dello Stato Veneziano* 3 (1961): 179–89.

A concise summary of medieval (Venetian) notaries is still unwritten, however, as Linda Guzzetti outlined, there are some works about medieval and early modern notaries – including her own PhD thesis –, among are the works by Attilio Bartoli Langeli, “Documentazione e notariato,” in *Storia di Venezia: Origini: Età ducale*, vol. 1, ed. Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci (Rome: Enciclopedia Italiana, 1992), 647–64, and Marco Pozza, “La cancellaria,” in *Storia di Venezia: La Formazione dello Stato Patrizio*, vol. 3, ed. Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci (Rome: Enciclopedia Italiana, 1997), 365–87, for its origins up until the 12th century.

For the events and changes during the 14th and 15th centuries, see Maria Pedani Fabris, “*Veneta Auctoritate Notarius*,” in *Storia del Notariato Veneziano, 1514–1797* (Milan: Giuffrè Editore, 1996), especially 8–9.

The most recent publication about notaries in medieval Italy is Piergiorgio Vito, ed., *Il notaio e la città: Essere notaio: I tempi e i luoghi (secc. XII–XV): Atti del convegno di studi storici, Genova, 9–10 dicembre 2007* (Milan: Giuffrè Editore, 2009). In addition, the *Studi storici sul notariato italiano* has announced a volume focusing on the medieval periods which has not been printed by the end of 2010.

⁶⁰ In his article Neven Budak goes into more detail, addressing the genesis of these three elitist groups. Of utmost importance for the study, however, are the following two main aspects: First, he understands intellectuals in an independent category not belonging to the clergy, as defined by their literary competence. These individuals mostly engaged in public offices – notaries, chancellors, etc. Second, the ecclesiastical elite, while only exceptionally having been in the focus of scholarly attention, needs to be considered as well – for in many cases, landed property owners also means the Church. Budak, “Urban élites,” 187–8.

⁶¹ Apart from the contributions by Neven Budak, Sante Graciotti, Bariša Krekić, and Michael Metzeltin, see further Vesna Jakić-Čestarić, “Etnički odnosi u srednjovjekovnom Zadru preme analizi osobnih imena [Ethnic relations in medieval Zadar in the light of family names analysis],” *Rad. JAZU–Zd.* 17 (1972): 99–166.

⁶² In the context of this study, the author refers to local, i.e. church parishes in the urban and suburban areas of Zadar, Nin, and Novigrad, as well as regional references, i.e. cities and towns further abroad and not within Zadar's jurisdiction. Examples for the latter include Venice (although usually in combination with parishes in the city itself) or other places, mostly, but not exclusively in Venice's empire, e.g. Split (Spalato), Trogir (Traù), and Zakynthos (Jacinto or Zante) or Dubrovnik (Ragusa) as well as Nafplion (Nauplia or Napoli de Romania).

ticipating in local everyday life.⁶³ Furthermore, the above-mentioned additional remarks and/or data gained from testaments, marriage contracts, and arbitration settlements, enable the identification of the (secular) intelligence. This group describes those members of Jadertine society who, according to their appearances in the notarial records, were presumed to have been literate, including the following job descriptions: notary public, advocatus/causidicus (advocate/solicitor), leges utriusque doctor (doctor of both laws), medicus physicus/artium et medicinae doctor (physician/medical doctor), and public officials like cancellarius or scriba (chancellor, scribe).⁶⁴ In addition, the Jews of Zadar can be surveyed by means of remarks like hebrea/us in addition to their names.⁶⁵

The third step will merge the horizontal social strata with the vertical functional (and confessional as well as denominational⁶⁶) groupings, and the geographical data. As Dennis Romano and John Martin suggested, Venice's society was characterised by a high amount of mobility⁶⁷, a fact demonstrated by the variety of different elites in Zadar.⁶⁸ A considerable part of the local elites, in fact, migrated from various other parts, exemplified by notaries from

⁶³ The main reason for the disclaimer about participation in local markets is that the present study is based upon notarial acts, not the records of the Venetian (harbour) administration in Zadar. Thus the data available, while acknowledging its incompleteness, encompasses therefore mostly voluntarily interactions.

⁶⁴ For the public offices in Venice's administration in general terms, see Cozzi, "Politica del diritto," 250–61, and O'Connell, *Men of Empire*, 39–74.

As regards the situation in the Adriatic with an emphasis on Dalmatia, see Ivan Pederin, *Mletačka uprava, privreda i politika u Dalmaciji (1409–1797)* [The Venetian administration, economy, and politics in Dalmatia, 1409–1797] (Dubrovnik: Časopis, 1990), 14–7, 105, Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 45.

For aspects of urban autonomy in Zadar after 1409, see Maja Novak-Sambrailo, "O autonomiji dalmatinskih komuna pod Venecijom [On the Autonomy of Dalmatian communes under Venice]," *Rad. JAZU–Zd.* 11–12 (1965): 59–128 (11–131).

⁶⁵ "(...) Hebrews were quasi everywhere in the Stato da mar," remarked Benjamin Arbel, "Colonie d'oltremare," 974, not only after Daniel Rodriga managed to persuade the Venetian authorities to establish a free-harbour in Split after the 1570s. He finally received permission in 1592 and opened new magazines, a lazaretto, and customs offices. For Rodriga's efforts, see Renzo Paci, *La 'scala' di Spalato e il commercio veneziano nei Balcani fra Cinque e Seicento* (Venice: Deputazione di Storia Patria per la Venezia, 1971), 14–5.

⁶⁶ For a comprehensive introduction to early modern Venice and the Jews, see Benjamin C. Ravid, "The Venetian Government and the Jews," in *The Jews of Early Modern Venice*, ed. Robert C. David (Baltimore, MD, and London: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 2001), 3–30.

⁶⁷ Romano and Martin, "Reconsidering Venice," 21.

⁶⁸ These approaches have been proven to work, more or less all by themselves, as amply documented, for instance by Stanley Chojnacki, Sally McKee, Jutta Sperling, and Diane Owen Hughes. Also, Lovorka Čoralić, Bariša Krekić, and Tomislav Raukar already showed that the geographical components may be addressed by analysing notarial records.

In addition, further see Lovorka Čoralić, "Dubrovčani u Veneciju od XIII. do XVIII. stoljeća [People of Dubrovnik in Venice from the 13th to the 18th century]," *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 32 (1994): 15–57, Bariša Krekić, "Contribution to the Study of the Ragusan Presence in Venice in the 14th Century," *Dubrovnik Annals* 5 (2001): 7–45.

On the presence of Dalmatians in Venice in general, see Lovorka Čoralić, "Prisustvo doseljenika s istočne jadranske obale u Veneciji od XIII. do XVIII. stoljeća [The presence of immigrants from the oriental littoral of the Adriatic in Venice from the 13th to the 18th century]," *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 26 (1993): 39–79, and Tomislav Raukar, "Le città Dalmate e il territorio adriatico: Relazioni economiche e influenze sociali (XIII–XV secolo)," *Italjug* 12, no. 3 (1982): 9–18.

Parma or Trogir (Traù). Finally, one must not forget to add that these various socio–functional groupings are, by no means, mutually exclusive.⁶⁹

Upon establishing the various types of urban elites, their field of activities and interests becomes apparent: From buying or renting real estate to granting concessions on landed property – from marrying spouses from other cities to the problems of cross–border dowry restitution – a wide range of actions emerges. As highlighted by Reinhold Mueller’s exemplary research into parts of the Venetian Giustinian family⁷⁰, these networks encompassed vast areas of the Eastern Mediterranean, oftentimes circumscribed by the possessions of the Republic of St Mark but not confined to it.⁷¹ Up until now, however, research has been mostly confined to this or that economic, social, religious, and/or functional group within the respective national

⁶⁹ Simply by looking at the (typed) finding/locational aid provided for in the archive in Zadar – an issue addressed below – one clearly sees this. One notary, a certain Johannes Mazzarellus, a nobleman of Trogir (Traù), became a notary and chancellor in Zadar, Daniel Cavalca of Parma was a notary public in Zadar.

⁷⁰ See Reinhold C. Mueller, “Pubblico e privato nel dominio veneziano delle isole greche a metà Quattrocento,” in *Venezia e le Isole Ionie*, ed. Chryssa A. Maltezou (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2005), 71–100., as well as Reinhold C. Mueller, “A Venetian Commercial Enterprise in Corfu, 1440–1442,” in *Money and markets in the Paleologan era*, ed. Nikolais G. Moschonas (Athens: Ethniko Hidryma Ereunōn, 2003), 81–95.

⁷¹ Oliver J. Schmitt, “Das venezianische Südosteuropa als Kommunikationsraum (ca. 1400–ca.1600),” in *Balceni occidentali, Adriatico e Venezia fra XIII e XVIII secolo/Der westliche Balkan, der Adriaraum und Venedig (13.–18. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Gherardo Ortalli and Oliver J. Schmitt (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009), 86 (77–101).

In this context, see also the earlier but less elaborate concept of a “maritimer Kommunikationsraum” (maritime communication area/space) described by Guillaume Saint–Guillain and Oliver J. Schmitt, “Die Ägäis als Kommunikationsraum im Späten Mittelalter,” *Saeculum* 56, no. 2 (2005): 217 (215–25).

historiographies.⁷² The present study, on the other hand, describes the networks and interrelated connections between the local resident, migrated, and foreign elites.⁷³ As the analysis of the notarial acts suggest, the high degree of social, economic, and geographical mobility, while of course stronger in the Adriatic neighbourhood of Zadar as opposed to (geographically) more remote regions such as the Straits of Otranto or beyond, did by no means confine communication.

By not focusing exclusively on maritime trade (about which there is little data for the time-span under consideration available in Zadar's communal archive) but widening the scope to include landed property as well as family ties, the present study describes these economic, geographical, and social networks. In addition to the long-standing analysis of quantitative

⁷² See, for instance, the works of Brunehilde Imhaus, Richard Mackeney, and Luca Molà for minorities (in the above-mentioned multi-dimensional senses) in Venice.

For recent discussions about the various national historiographies in the Eastern Mediterranean, follow Nicolas Karapidakis, "Narrazione e concetti della storiografia greca sul periodo del dominio veneziano," in *Italia-Grecia: Temi e storiografie a confronto*, ed. Chryssa A. Maltezou and Gherardo Ortalli (Venice: Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini di Venezia, 2001), 113–25, Paschalis Kitromilides, "Bridges to the Renaissance and the Enlightenment: The Assimilation of Italian Culture as a Problem in Greek Historiography," in *Italia-Grecia: Temi e storiografie a confronto*, ed. Chryssa A. Maltezou and Gherardo Ortalli (Venice: Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini di Venezia, 2001), 37–46, and Anastassia Papadia-Lala, "La 'venetocrazia' nel pensiero greco: Storicità, realtà, prospettive," in *Italia-Grecia: Temi e storiografie a confronto*, ed. Chryssa A. Maltezou and Gherardo Ortalli (Venice: Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini di Venezia, 2001), 61–70.

For aspects relating to these groups within the wider Mediterranean, see, inter alia, Thierry Ganchou, ed., *Les élites urbaines au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2009), Chryssa A. Maltezou, ed., *I Greci durante la Venetocrazia: Uomini, spazio, idee, XIII–XVIII sec.* (Venice: Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini di Venezia, 2007), Benjamin Arbel, *Intercultural Contacts in the Medieval Mediterranean: Studies in Honor of David Jacoby* (London: Frank Cass, 1996), Benjamin Arbel, Bernard Hamilton, and David Jacoby, eds., *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204* (London: Frank Cass, 1995), Paolo Petta, *Despoti d'Epiro e Principi di Macedonia: Esuli albanesi nell'Italia del Rinascimento* (Lecce: Argo, 2000), Paolo Petta, *Stratioti: Soldati albanesi in Italia, sec. XV–XIX* (Lecce: Argo, 1996), and Paolo Preto, *Venezia e i Turchi* (Florence: Sansoni, 1975).

For the Venetian Jewry, follow Cecil Roth, Benjamin Arbel, Benjamin Ravid, for the Ragusan nobility, see Zdenka Janeković-Römer, Stjepan Ćosić and Nenad Vekarić, *Dubrovačka vlastela između roda i države: Salamankezi i Sorbonezi* [The Ragusan Patriciate between Kinship and State: Salamankezi and Sorbonezi] (Zagreb: Hrvatska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 2005), and Irmgard Mahnken, *Dubrovački patricijat u XIV veku* [The Ragusan Patriciate in the 14th century] (Belgrade: Naučno delo, 1960). This list, although by no means complete, provides, as these works already suggest, details of specific groups although not many focus on the urban elites as a whole.

⁷³ In the context of the present study, 'foreign' refers to those individuals not citizens and/or residents of Zadar.

Since the legal dimension of Venice's empire is usually underestimated, one may sum it up in terms of single cities, towns, and/or island communities being tied to Venice via individual contracts. As Gaetano Cozzi and Egidio Ivetić remind us, in both Venice's mainland Italian Terraferma (from Brescia to Pula) as well as in Albania and Dalmatia, the Republic of St Mark applied virtually the same ruling policy of amending existing legislation and its institutions to serve its needs. See Gaetano Cozzi, *Ambiente veneziano, ambiente veneto: Saggi su politica, società, cultura nella Repubblica di Venezia in età moderna* (Venice: Marsilio, 1997), 292.

For Istria, see Egidio Ivetić, *Oltremare: L'Istria nell'ultimo dominio veneto* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2000), 21–47, as well as Alfredo Viggiano, "Note sull'amministrazione veneziana in Istria nel secolo XV," *Acta Histriae* 3 (1994): 5–20.

This, however, stands in considerable contrast to Venice's name for its overseas territories, Oltremare, which signifies and illustrates a certain distance between the city itself and its dependencies. Georgopoulou, *Mediterranean Colonies*, 20–1.

sources, this study subjects the notarial sources, accessible in both Latin and ‘Italian’⁷⁴, to textual analysis in the context of secondary sources and the already existing state of research.⁷⁵ As far as continuities and discontinuities go, comparable to the Middle Ages, local Dalmatian nobles continued to marry within their social strata up and down the coast, notwithstanding the changing suzerains. Analysis of these marital bonds will further our understanding of the Dalmatian nobility and its self-identity.⁷⁶ On a related notion, the focus on Zadar’s urban elites also addresses the issue of household organisation and family structures.⁷⁷ Issues such as endogamy versus exogamy or upward/downward social mobility, oftentimes closely tied to financial considerations, and succession criteria become apparent.⁷⁸

Combining these steps to a synthetic description of Zadar’s nobility, its networks, and interactions with other types of urban elites, a more nuanced picture of how power was allocated, extended, and exercised in early modern Dalmatia emerges. By putting the results of the present study into context of the existing research, a comparative and more precise portrayal of life in Venice’s Adriatic dominions emerges, depicting its system as one inter-con-

⁷⁴ In the context of the present study, the term ‘Italian’ does not refer to the present-day language but to its Venetian-influenced local vernacular spoken in the Adriatic.

For further information on the spoken Venetian language (although this work in general focuses on the use of the Venetian language in colonial Crete, of particular interest in the context of the present study are the parts about the Adriatic), see Rembert Eufe, *Sta lingua ha un privilegio tanto grando: Status und Gebrauch des Venezianischen in der Republik Venedig* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2006), 45–64.

⁷⁵ This refers to the secondary sources – the Venetian Directives and Reports edited by Šime Ljubić and Grga Novak as well as the Jadertine city statutes edited by Josip Kolanović and Mate Križman, discussed in more detail below.

⁷⁶ Moving from one community in Dalmatia to another amounted to a change of scenery, not much more. The preferred marriage partners were either other local, i.e. coastal noble(wo)men, from the hinterlands of the western Balkans or, in some cases, Italy. Budak, “Urban élites,” 196–7.

⁷⁷ As Diane Owen Hughes’s research suggests, nobles during the Middle Ages lived in complex family forms, Neven Budak states the same, thus marking a distinct social borderline between the nobility and the rest of society. See Diane Owen Hughes, “Urban Growth and Family Structure in Medieval Genoa,” *Past and Present* 66 (1975): 13–7 (3–28), and Neven Budak, “Struktura i uloga obitelji serva i ancilla i famula u komunalnim društvima na istočnom Jadranu [Family structure and the role of slaves, maids, and servants in communal societies along the eastern Adriatic littoral],” *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 14 (1984): 347–59.

For comparative data about Dubrovnik, see David Rheubottom, “Sisters first: Betrothal order and age at marriage in 15th-century Ragusa,” *Journal of Family History* 13, no. 4 (1988): 359–76.

⁷⁸ Exemplified by the frictions between two related branches of the Tetricus (Detrik) family in which, upon death of the direct female heir to one of the opposing parties, both sides demanded the return of a possession on the islet of Iž (Eso/Exo) including 50 to 70 animals. Both sides cited legal documents from as early as the 1480s, brought up witnesses from said island, and the notary and communal chancellor, Simon Mazzarellus, recorded everything – including a book full of transcripts of all the relevant documents and contracts, including entire articles of the city’s statutes, dating from 1508 to 1558. The process took place from in Zadar between June to October 1561, pitting cousins once and twice removed against each other. These documents can be accessed in Italian mostly (and some in Latin) in the notary’s books: Državni arhiv u Zadru (DAZd), Spisi zadarskih bilježnika (SZB), Simon Mazzarellus (SM) box I, fascicle 1, books 4 and 5.

Henceforth, primary sources will be quoted by stating the notary’s (abbreviated) name, omitting the information prior to his naming. Also, the numbers above are deemed sufficient to identify the various sub-categories.

nected commonwealth-like entity, probably beyond traditional maritime versus continental categorisations.⁷⁹

iv. Sources from the Croatian State Archive in Zadar

The present study is primarily based upon the records of fifteen Jadertine public notaries, all of them preserved in the Croatian State Archives in Zadar.⁸⁰ In combination with the secondary sources discussed in more detail below, they “furnish the soundtrack of the city’s bustle, thus bringing the scene closer to life than either set of sources would do on their own.”⁸¹ The physical condition as well as the hand-writing of the sources varies, partially strongly, and some single contracts have had to be omitted on grounds of both conservation and lack of readability. However, any interpretative consideration based on more than the 6,400 contracts surveyed can be considered fairly reliable given the number of individual instruments

⁷⁹ As the title already suggests, the concept closest to the dynamics of Venice’s empire would be *commonwealth*. A good definition is offered by Dimitri Obolensky in a study in the 1970s, the term, though, appears in the Venetian context in 1599 in the English translation of Gasparo Contarini’s *De magistratibus et republica Venetorum*, first published in 1543 and translated into English by Lewes Lewkenor in 1599, the term is thus almost contemporary and will be used accordingly. See Elisabeth G. Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini: Venice, Rome and Reform* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1993), 110–28, and David McPherson, “Lewkenor’s Venice and its Sources,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 41, no. 3 (1988): 459–66.

As writes Dimitri Obolensky, “the term ‘commonwealth’ (...) is used as a rough equivalent of at least the last of these Greek terms [*basileia* (‘empire’), *oikoumene* (‘the inhabited universe’), *politeuma* (‘government, community’), author’s note]. No precise constitutional significance should be ascribed to it, nor is its purpose to suggest any modern parallel. It is offered as a convenient and (...) not inappropriate description of society whose structure and bonds were seldom wholly visible to the men of the Middle Ages (...);” (emphases in the original). See Dimitri Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe, 500–1453* (London: Phoenix Press, 2000), 2, 9, and the introduction.

In the context of the present study, this pragmatic approach is applied to the Venetian dominions.

For further reading about the origins of imperial-commonwealth structures in the late Antiquity, see Garth Fowden, *Empire to Commonwealth: Consequences of Monotheism in Late Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1993), 3–11, 100–137. Follow especially the introduction, in which the author portrays his thesis of the concept commonwealth, an entity transcending borders and frontiers but sharing common historical experiences.

⁸⁰ “The Croatian State Archives is central archival institution in Croatia and perform archival services relating to archival and current records created by state bodies, state and public institutions and enterprises, and by corporate bodies, families and individuals whose activity covers the whole or a greater part of the Croatian territory, or is of State interest. In order to make the memories of Croatian nation available to public as much as possible, Croatian State Archives provide access to its documents under equal conditions for all researchers.” For the quoted see “About us,” Hrvatski Državni Arhiv [Croatian State Archives], accessed 13 March, 2011, <http://www.arhiv.hr/en/hr/hda/fs-ovi/o-hda.htm>.

For a printed introduction to the records used in the present study, see Sredoje Lalić, ed., *Arhivski fondovi i zbirke u arhivima i arhivskim odjelima u SFRJ: SR Hrvatska* [Archival collections, manuscripts in archives, and archival collections in the SFRY: SR Croatia] (Belgrade: Savez Društava Arhiv, 1984), 321–5.

There also exists a more recent edition of the inventories of the Croatian State Archives, which was published by the same scholar who compiled the volume pertaining to Croatia in the 1980s. See Josip Kolanović, ed., *Pregled arhivskih fondova i zbirke Republike Hrvatske* [Inventory of the archival collections and manuscripts in the Republic of Croatia], 2 vols. (Zagreb: Hrvatski Državni Arhiv, 2006–2007).

⁸¹ McKee, “Women under Venetian Colonial Rule,” 35.

analysed.⁸² The documents can be accessed in the reading room of the Croatian State Archives in Zadar, a typewritten finding/location aid serves the user.⁸³ In some cases the folii (single pages) in the notaries' books have not even been labelled recto (right-hand page) and verso (left-hand page), leaving only the date and the names of the Doge and Count as indicators.

In addition, it needs first to be noted that the sources the present study is based upon are – more or less⁸⁴ – everything written by those notaries that has been preserved in the Croatian State Archives in Zadar for the decades from 1540 to 1570.⁸⁵ Since these documents include a wide range of different contracts with their own legal implications, textual analysis is accompanied by statistical and/or empirical evaluation whenever deemed necessary and possible. Apart from the various contents, some parts of the notarial acts, such as the opening and closing statements, are virtually the same in every single document.

Second, due to the vast amounts of data contained in all those contracts, the present study focuses only on the urban elites. As stated above, however, this does not necessarily mean only the nobility and their offspring or spouses to the exclusion of the rest of potentially influential members of society. Since the data on which this study is based is not a sample in the conventional sense of the term but it must be considered in the context of the sources not analysed for the present study.⁸⁶

⁸² The word sample has to be put in perspective – the present study is based on virtually all accessible notarial records from 1 January, 1540, to 31 December, 1569. However, since a detailed overview of the data would exceed the space available in this study, please refer to the statistical data given below and to the additional tables in the appendix.

⁸³ The archives building is adjacent to the rectorate of the Sveučilište u Zadru [University of Zadar], located in Zadar's old town, in Ruđera Boškovića bb, 23 000 Zadar. See also their internet presence: "Regional State Archives: Državni arhiv Zadar [State Archive Zadar]," Hrvatski Državni Arhiv [Croatian State Archives], accessed 28 november, 2010, <http://www.arhiv.hr/en/hr/drugi-arhivi/fs-ovi/arhivi-hrvatska.htm>, for additional details and contact information.

⁸⁴ As subjecting every single documents from the period to analysis would definitely be beyond measure, this study focuses on the dates of the respective notarial instruments. The timeframe has been adjusted to 1540 to 1569 in order to have three equally long decades. This has been done for statistical and comparative reasons.

⁸⁵ For the reference to the notarial acts (from the 12th century onwards until 1797) preserved in the Croatian State Archives in Zadar, which include not only the public notaries of Zadar but also those who worked and lived in Pag (Pago), Rab (Arbe), Skradin (Scardona), and Šibenik (Sebenico/Sibenico). Lalić, *Arhivski fondovi*, 326. Ever since 1959, editions of notarial acts preserved in Zadar's archive have been published in the book series *Spisi zadarskih bilježnika* [Publications/writings of Jadertine notaries], ed. Državni arhiv u Zadru (Zadar: Državni arhiv u Zadru, 1959–2010) = *Notarilia Iadertina*.

⁸⁶ These include, as far as preserved, the documents of the Venetian *Dragoman* (interpreter-diplomat) and the *Sindici inquisitori* (state inquisitors) in the double province of Dalmatia and Albania, further related material from the archives of other communes under Venetian rule, e.g. Brač (Brazza), Hvar (Lesina), Korčula (Curzola), or Pag (Pago) as well as the sources from the communal administration of Zadar itself. Lalić, *Arhivski fondovi*, 325–6.

iv.i. Primary Sources: Records of the Notaries of Zadar

The total number of notarial instruments analysed for the present study exceeds 6,400 individual contracts, not counting the testaments of the various elites. The table below gives a more detailed overview about the number of acts, the active years of the notaries public in Zadar, and some references to the language(s) in which the instruments were written.

Table i: Notaries and their Instruments, Overview (1540 to 1569)

Notary ^a	active ^b	no. of acts ^c	% of total ^d	Latin ^e	% of total ^f	‘Italian’ ^g	mixed ^h
AM	1540–1552	90	1.4 %	90	100 %	–	–
CC	1567–1569	220	3.4 %	147	66.8 %	72	1
DC	1551–1566	1,367	21.2 %	1,254	91.7 %	110	3
FT	1548–1561	258	4 %	257	99.6 %	–	1
GC	1562–1564	52	0.8 %	43	82.7 %	9	–
HM	1567–1569	259	4 %	205	79.2 %	54	–
JM	1545–1569	814	12.6 %	810	99.5 %	3	1
JMM	1540–1554	285	4.4 %	283	99.3 %	2	–
MAS	1544–1548	15	0.2 %	15	100 %	–	–
NC	1548–1567	118	1.8 %	117	99.2 %	1	–
ND	1540–1566	825	12.8 %	806	97.9 %	6	11
PB	1540–1569	821	12.8 %	810	98.7 %	3	8
PS	1545–1551	43	0.7 %	43	100 %	–	–
SB	1556–1566	827	12.8 %	821	99.3 %	4	2
SM	1555–1569	442	6.9 %	405	91.6 %	27	10
		6,436	99.8 %	6,108	ø = 94.9 %	291	37

Sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JM (1545–1569), JMM (1540–1554), MAS (1544–1548), NC (1558–1567), ND (1540–1566), PB (1540–1569), PS (1545–1551), SB (1556–1565), SM (1555–1567). In all, 6,436 individual notarial acts were analysed; see also the appendix for additional details.

(a) Lists all notaries public active in Zadar/Zara (Jadra) between 1 January, 1540, and 31 December, 1569; the abbreviations above are used throughout the present study. For the names of the notaries, see the list provided above.

(b) Lists the years in which the corresponding notary public stipulated instruments in Zadar.

(c) Lists the over-all number of individual instruments written by each of the fifteen notaries public during their active years in Zadar.

(d) Lists the percentage of the number of individual instruments of each corresponding notary public. The combined percentages are given in the bottom line, including rounding errors (hence 99.8 %, not 100 %).

(e) Lists the over-all number of individual instruments written in Latin by each of the fifteen notaries public during their active years in Zadar. The bottom line gives the total number of notarial acts written in Latin.

(f) Lists the percentage of the number of individual instruments written in Latin compared to the total number of individual instruments drawn up by each corresponding notary public. The bottom line gives the average percentage of notarial acts written in Latin.

(g) Lists the over-all number of individual instruments written in the Venetian variant of ‘Italian’ by each of the fifteen notaries public during their active years in Zadar. The bottom line gives the total number of notarial acts written in the Venetian variant of the ‘Italian’ language.

(h) Lists the over-all number of individual instruments written in both Latin and the Venetian variant of ‘Italian’ by each of the fifteen notaries public during their active years in Zadar. The bottom line gives the total number of notarial acts written in these two languages.

For the period of time under consideration, the records of a total of fifteen notaries public have been analysed. Of these, three have been members of the clergy⁸⁷, while at least five have been of clearly discernible noble descent. Further details about the notaries public as a socio–functional elite group differentiated by virtue of literacy and their role within Zadar’s society are provided below.

iv.ii. Structure and Terminology of Notarial Acts

The typical notarial act or instrument⁸⁸, preserved by their authors in their various books, basically consisted of three main parts: the invocatio (invocation), the various clauses, and the valedictio (valediction).⁸⁹ The invocation included the date, the indictio (indiction)⁹⁰, the communal public official present, the names of both the then–current Doge of Venice as well as the count of Zadar, and the location in which the notarial act was stipulated.⁹¹ The clauses, and this holds true for almost every type of document, contain the main information, whether it would be a real estate transaction, a credit instrument, a marriage contract, or any other type of document. At the end of the regulations a referral to the parts of the city’s statutes containing neglect of contract stipulations is written. After the concluding clauses followed the valediction, which usually contained the place in which the (original) document was written, the

⁸⁷ A practice, while officially forbidden in Venice by the mid–16th century, appeared to have been at least partially ignored in Zadar. The last priest–notary in Venice acted between 1513 and 1570, however, the main difference was to be found that Venice, while differing from the legal premises of the rest of Italy, was also different from practices in Istria and Dalmatia, too. See Pedani Fabris, *Veneta Auctoritate Notarius*, 1–19, Cracco, “Pre–ti–notai di Venezia,” 179–89, and Guzzetti, *Venezianische Vermächtnisse*, 22.

⁸⁸ In the sources, the notarial acts are referred to as instrumentum or istrumento (instrument), which had to be compiled in a liber instrumentorum (book of instrument), as defined in the city’s statutes. See Lib. II, tit. XVII: “De fide instrumentuorum et de tabellionum officio et satisfactione decenti,” containing a total number of 17 subchapters detailing structure, payment, and additional formal issues. Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 206–18.

Hence, “Lib.” refers to the individual books of Zadar’s statutes, “tit.” gives the respective titles, and “cap.” provides the chapter.

⁸⁹ In general terms, see Heinrich Fichtenau, *Arenga: Spätantike und Mittelalter im Spiegel von Urkundenformeln* (Graz: Böhlau, 1957) as well as Milan von Šufflay, *Die Dalmatinische Privaturkunde* (Vienna: Gerold, 1904).

⁹⁰ The so–called indictio (indiction) was a cycle of 15 years, calculated from the beginning of the Christian era in 313 onwards. One numbers the years starting from one to fifteen, then starts anew with one.

⁹¹ Usually, these initial formulae were abbreviated by simply stating temporibus ut ante (at times as above/before) or ut supra/superscripta/contrascripta (like above/–written/written on the page before). In any of these cases, the information can usually be retrieved by simply turning one or more pages backwards. Furthermore, in many cases the date and indiction may be found as title above the text, in some cases the location where the document was stipulated may be found in the valediction, and in some cases all of the content may have been replaced by ut ante/supra.

A formal and inclusive invocation reads as follows: “In Christi nomine amen. Anno eb eius Nativitate Millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo sexto, Indictione quartadecima die vero Sabbati tercio mensis octobris, Temporibus Serenissimi Principis et domini excellentissimi domini Laurentij Prioli Dei gratia Venetiarum et cetera Ducis Illustrissimi, Praetureque celeberrimi domini Antonij Michael Comitis Jadra dignissimi, Coram Viro Nobile Jadrensis domini Marino de Soppe honorando Judice examinatore Curiae Jadrae, (...)” Cf. SB box I, fascicle 1, book 1, folio 1 recto, stipulated on 3 October, 1556.

Henceforth, primary sources are quoted omitting the terms box, fascicle, book, and folio.

witnesses and the signature of the public official.⁹² A copy of the legal instrument had to be kept in the books by the public notaries in case the original contract was lost, deliberately destroyed, and/or required for a trial to be reproduced.⁹³ Sometimes the notary public would also add a signet, to quickly identify the author of the instrument and its corresponding legal validity. The writer, in this example a member of the clergy, stated that he – Simon Budineus – was a notary public by virtue of “*sacra Imperiali auctoritate Jadreque Juratus Notarius*“, as opposed to the legal framework provided for the city of Venice proper. Next to his note a little drawing can be seen, showing his initials – “S.B.” – , a flower, and a cross on top of it.⁹⁴

As for the formulae involved, the Venetian notaries never ceased to invoke God in the invocation, however, some problems related to the dates of the acts arise. As far as Venice proper was concerned, the new year began in March⁹⁵, in many other regions, possibly includ-

⁹² While by no means a formally fixed order, the information given in the various parts of the notarial acts usually remains the same, also when it comes to formalities. However, despite some parts not belonging exclusive to neither invocation nor valediction, no redundant information is given.

For example, a formal and encompassing valediction reads as follows: “*Actum Jadra in Apotheca ser Christophori Franzosich alias Celestrini penes plateam, Presentibus ser Julio de Toninis merzario et Thomasio Dlancich cabalario Jadrensis, Testibus habitis vocatis et specialiter rogatis.*” Furthermore, in some documents the notary’s signet (a sign and/or written note) are also found below (some of) the notarial instrument, in the above-mentioned case, it reads: “*Ego Simon Budineus clericus Jadertinus publicus sacra Imperiali auctoritate Jadreque Juratus Notarius praemissis rogatus affui, eaque fideliter scripsi et publicavi meque in fidem subscripsi signoque me Tabellionatus solito siganvi.*” For both quoted references, cf. SB I, 1, 1, f1v, stipulated on 3 October, 1556.

⁹³ All individuals writing documents were required to provide copies in case of legal procedures and/or loss of the original instrument, see Lib. II, tit. XVII: “*De fide instrumentorum et de tabellionum officio et satisfactione decenti*“, containing a total number of 17 chapters. Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 206–18.

For the reference about notaries leaving their documents for periods of absence from Zadar exceeding two months, see Ref., cap. 156: “*Quod iudices examinatores subscribere acta notariorum. De examinatione notariorum. Quod notarii absentes extra civitatem per duos menses debeant relinquere in cancellaria sua acta et prothocolla notarilia.*” Ibid., 670.

Hence, “Ref.” refers to the amended parts of Zadar’s statutes, “cap.” gives the respective chapter.

⁹⁴ Cf. SB I, 1, 1, f1v, stipulated on 3 October, 1556.

As described by Maria Pedani Fabris, there were no legal objections to members of the clergy being also public notaries in Dalmatia, however, only a fraction of those present in Zadar between 1540 and 1570 were clergymen. For the requirements of Venetian notaries-to-be – being a layman and citizen above a certain age (older than 25), having no criminal record, mastering certain studies in Venice or Padua and the passing of an exam (as well as having paid the exam fees) –, follow Pedani Fabris, *Veneta Auctoritate Notarius*, 47–78.

⁹⁵ Or, in the case of Zadar, some-when in between the two latter dates. This was caused by differing dating systems in use, i.e. the competition/overlapping of the Greek/Constantinopolitan (Byzantine) and Roman/Papal calculation of time. Furthermore, in notarial acts stipulated in Venice itself, the location was more specified, i.e. local toponyms like Rivoalto (Rialto) or the respective parish were added. Pedani Fabris, *Veneta Auctoritate Notarius*, 79–83.

As far concerns as the situation in Zadar proper, this held also true for virtually all instruments feature also the location in which they were written, e.g. in or opposite the communal loggia or at the Porta Terraferma (today known as Kopnena vrata or Land Gate). See part four for more information on this.

ing Zadar, the new year began either between 25 December and 1 January.⁹⁶ In addition to other information contained in the invocation – the names of the Venetian Doge and the Count of Zadar⁹⁷ – the holders of the public Jadertine offices of consiliarius (councillor) and iudex examinador (judge–examiner)⁹⁸, reserved for local noblemen, are given. A copy of the instruments was to be kept by the notaries, typically in the form of liber instrumentorum (book of instruments)⁹⁹, which usually consisted of roughly thirty to fifty pages.¹⁰⁰ Also, the Jadertine notaries knew Latin, the Venetian variant of ‘Italian’ and, at least, ‘Illyrian’ or Slavic.¹⁰¹ And while there was no obligation to stipulate contracts in one location, in some cases the work-

⁹⁶ It is unclear whether or not the beginning of the Venetian year (which began in March) was also the beginning of the year in her dominions. The primary sources suggest this to be the case in Zadar as well as one (of the many) examples in the sources underline. For instance, the year changed from 1539 to 1540 somewhere after 9 March, as exemplified in the notes of notary public Petrus de Bassano, where the date on the right-hand side is 9 March, 1539, and the one on the backside of the folio is 31 March, 1540, and the latter page also possesses the header “Mutatio Millesimo, 1540, ab Incarnatione.” Cf. PB I, 1, 7, f32r/f32v, stipulated on 9 and 31 March, 1540, respectively.

⁹⁷ At times also the vacant offices of the Venetian Doge and/or the Jadertine count were noted. For comprehensive model instruments, see Lib. V, tit. XI: “De quarta parte decimae in fabricam ecclesiae sanctae Anastasiae distribuenda”, containing only one chapter. Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 496–517.

⁹⁸ These communal officials were elected for six months by the Jadertine council and performed various duties, mainly controlling the chambers (in fiscal terms, they examined the taxes delivered) and written documents. For the detailed description of the office, see Ref., cap. 116: “De officio iudicum examinatorum.” Ibid., 598–600.

⁹⁹ The documentation had to be “de verbo ad verbum”, including, as the title of the paragraph in the communal statutes suggest, date and both parties. For the references in the Jadertine statutes pertaining to the notaries and their obligation to keep copies in their books, see Lib. II, tit. XVII, cap. 89: “Quod notarius facta sibi solutione nomina testium et contrahentium et quantitatem, cum die, mense et anno incontinenti scribere teneatur.” Ibid., 208.

Also, the notaries were required to transcribe the instruments into their books within three days after payment, again, word for word. See Lib. II, tit. XVII, cap. 113: “Quod notarius recepta solutione, postquam rogatus fuerit a partibus, contractum de verbo ad verbum in libro imbreviatarum ponere teneatur.” Ibid., 210.

¹⁰⁰ While usually labelled by the notaries since the Middle Ages, this has not always been the case in the context of Zadar’s notaries public. Only in 1575 the Venetian government required its notaries to label the matrices. Pedani Fabris, *Veneta Auctoritate Notarius*, 89.

In all but a few cases a date (or the hint of where to find the correct date) is given in every single instrument, in some cases there are also indices at the beginning of a book. In this study, though, where the pagination has been added, it will be given, in all other cases the name of the notary, the box, fascicle, book numbers and the date is provided.

¹⁰¹ However, given the notion that in Venice from 1532 onwards the language (of testaments) had to be Italian rather than Latin, this must not hold true for Dalmatia. Pedani Fabris, *Veneta Auctoritate Notarius*, 99.

Only 5 % of the instruments stipulated in Zadar between 1540 and 1570 were not written in Latin, though from the late 1550s onwards there was a certain tendency to increase the use of ‘Italian’ over Latin.

Only a couple of references in all the instruments exist naming the Illyrian or Slavic language, although typically in the following context: In June of 1542, “Bartholomues aliter Barichius Lucacich aliter Jurieuch quondam Bilulj de villa Opatice Sello territorij Jadre” sold a house “positam Jadram in contrata fabrorum” (blacksmith’s parish) to “Stephano de Spalato ligonizatori” for 140 libras parvorum. Since the buyer only paid a part of the total sum in cash, a bailman, “Vitus Chlarich quondam Joannis de Xemonico” (Zemunik/Zemonico) was needed. While on 12 January, 1543, the outstanding rest was paid, the guarantor did not read and/or speak Italian and/or Latin, thus the content of the contract was presented to him “audita, et Intellecta dicta venditone Illirico sermone per me Notarium”, testifying to the fact that the notary public had a good knowledge of the Slavic language, too. Cf. ND I, 1, E, stipulated on 14 June, 1542, and 12 January, 1543, respectively. The reference to the Illyrian language is from the latter contract.

place was also the notary's office of choice.¹⁰² As the numbers clearly show, the pre-eminent language of the notarial instruments has been Latin, nevertheless, all names appearing for the first time are given as spelled and written in the original, all subsequent names in the present thesis are spelled likewise.¹⁰³

iv.iii. Relations between Notaries and their Clients

Given the nature of the notarial instruments, normally both contracting parties are known. Since the notaries public were embedded in all but everyday life, they were oftentimes not only holding public offices but also important members of Jadertine society as well.¹⁰⁴ Be it by virtue of office, marriage, and achievement (or a combination thereof), the notaries public were well positioned within the social fabric of Zadar's inhabitants among whom they dwelled. All notaries, whether they held public offices or not, lived within the old city centre, although in various parishes. Notaries were active in all parishes and quarters of the city and, in some cases, out of necessity, also outside the city walls.¹⁰⁵

The availability of notaries in all of the parishes, the main square, and their offices signified a rather large degree of integration into the social web of the commune. Despite the fact that most notaries had, in today's terminology, an 'immigration background', this fact did not

¹⁰² In multi-cultural, multi-religious, and multi-ethnic Venice the notaries public had to know more than Italian and Latin because of the very nature of the Venetian state and the sheer numbers of foreigners present. See Pedani Fabris, *Veneta Auctoritate Notarius*, 141–4.

As for the locations in which the contracts were stipulated, there appears not to have been a pre-eminent spot in Zadar, however, in the case of Simon Mazzarellus, a noble of Trogir (Traù) who was also cancellarius communitalis (communal chancellor) in Zadar, many instruments were actually written in the communal chancellery. Yet, typically Zadar's notaries were to be found in the communal square where also the loggia and on its opposite side, "ad bancum juris ex opposito logie comunis" (at the legal advisors' bench) but where active throughout the entire city (see also part 4). In addition, contracts were also stipulated in either the private houses of the notaries, the communal legal officers, or one of the contracting parties. For the quoted references, cf. ND I, 1, B, stipulated on 12 August, 1540.

¹⁰³ Two more additions to that notion: First, all names – both homonyms and toponyms – are given in their literal transcription at the time of their first quotation. Second, the spelling is usually a tad different from the classical/standard spelling, as some names usually spelt without double consonants required or with a letter missing, e.g. Matthaeus, often written Matheus or Mateus or Johannes is usually written Joannes. If quoted directly from the sources, the spelling is given as it appears in the original, any repetition of the names is given in standardised Latin spelling.

¹⁰⁴ For instance, "Circumspecto Juveni Augustino Martio quondam domini Simonis Veneto" was a notary public, "supramassarius munitionum" (supervisor of munitions), and "cancellario celeberrimi domini Comitis Jadrae" (ducal chancellor). The sources are not clearly stating whether or not Augustinus was a nobleman, however, it is clear that he originally came from Venice. In addition, "ser Matthaeus Chreglich Civis, et habitator Jadre" destined "dominam Maphea eius filiam legitimam et naturalem uxorem In primo matrimonio quondam ser Petri de Mutina Civis Jadre, licet absentis" to Augustinus "In sponsam, et futuram uxorem legitimam ipsius domini Augustini." "Already, he was well-integrated into Zadar's society by virtue of his offices, those ties were only to intensify by this marriage. Cf. ND I, 1, B, stipulated on 17 October, 1540.

¹⁰⁵ The latter was the case when contracts were stipulated in the harbour and/or onboard a ship, though usually that happened only when one or more of the crew of a warship were among the contracting parties. No clear evidence of notaries venturing into suburban parishes to draw up contracts exists; see also part 4.

cause them being avoided by the other members of society.¹⁰⁶ As during the Middle Ages, the ‘foreign’ notaries were not only accepted into the commune of Zadar, many of them engaged in marital and/or economic ties with the local residents. The Jadertine notaries public were respected members of society and their council and/or representation in legal manners was sought after by on many occasions.¹⁰⁷ In the case of only one of the contracting parties being physically present at the time the contract was written, the notary could also stipulate on behalf of the absent party “*uti persona publica*” (as a public person).¹⁰⁸

Notaries public were paid for their services per stipulated document, be it a contract, testament, or *breviarium* (debt obligation).¹⁰⁹ These prices were fixed as a consequence of an intervention by the Doge in response to the request of Zadar’s Count, Marcus Dandulo on 6 July, 1422. The Venetian suzerain, Tommaso Mocenigo (in office from 1414 to 1423), swiftly replied and fixed the prices for a wide range of written documents in his palace on 24 August, 1422. Apart from applying to the chancellors as well as scribes and notaries in Zadar, the details given are stupendous. Not only were these fees tied to the type of document, the prices were also aligned with the amount of money being dealt with in the instruments itself. For example, while a selling contract below the equivalent value of up to 500 libras cost 1 libra 12 *solidi parvorum*, the cost for the same instrument for sold items ranging from 500 to 1,000 libras increased to 3 libras. Appointing a procurator via a notarial instrument cost the fixed tariff of 16 *solidi parvorum*. Any testamentary bequest worth 100 ducats cost 3 libras *parvo-*

¹⁰⁶ The only exception would be Johannes Mazzarellus, a nobleman of Trogir (Traù), who was a notary public in Zadar and communal chancellor as well – and who accounted for half of his fellow noblemen’s testaments between 1540 and 1569 (and, given the sheer numbers of testaments by other Jadertines, also for a higher proportion of testaments by commoners as well as compared to any other notary public).

¹⁰⁷ As pointed out above, all notaries were literate, many of them held legal degrees and/or public offices and, as the example above illustrates, were able to communicate in at least three languages, Italian, Latin, and Slavic. In addition to the notaries, the commune also employed translators, for instance “*egregius vir dominus Simeon Britanicus civis et Interpres publicus Jadrae*.” Cf. DC I, 1, 3, f27v–f28v, stipulated on 30 December, 1555. On another occasion, “*dominus Johannes Raymundinus civis Jadrensis interpres liguae illyricae a celeberrimo domino Jacobo Pisano comite Jadra*” appointed “*Magnificum et excellentem doctorem dominum Octavianum Ciuenam advocatum Venetijs*” to represent the constituent party “*occasione interpretis praedicti*.” Cf. SB I, 1, 6, f493r, stipulated on 22 March, 1565.

¹⁰⁸ This, while not too common, was a practice transcending all social strata and used without problems, even in cases involving the notary accepting money or other worldly goods and not being a sibling of the initiating party.

¹⁰⁹ For instance, a *breviarium* did cost 2 libras 16 *solidi parvorum*, as recorded in an instrument in 1556. Cf. SM I, 1, 2, stipulated on 27 November, 1556.

In combination with the fees detailed in the city statutes, said debt obligation must have been worth between 100 to 300 libras *parvorum*. See Ref., cap. 132: “*Super limitatione et transactione solutionum scripturarum fiendarum tam per cancellarios quam per alios scribanos Iadrae*.” Kolanović and Krizman, *Zadarski statut*, 612–8.

rum, with the prices of said documents increasing correspondingly to the value of the goods and/or money transferred.¹¹⁰

In addition to these fixed expenditures, there were no obligations preventing the notaries public from engaging in commerce or property transactions. Some of them held also public offices and many of them were already wealthy when compared to their clients. A number of notaries public married into Zadar's aristocracy, some were of noble birth, too, some were members of the clergy and enjoyed additional benefices.¹¹¹

In conclusion, the notaries were well-respected members of the Jadertine society, partially because of their noble descent, their position in the public administration, or the Church. All of them were literate¹¹² and many of them formed ties not only by means of marriage and the corresponding dowry bequests but also by actively engaging in the local economy, for instance via granting individuals and/or groups lands in exchange for a rent or payment in kind. And, as detailed above, in addition to these various forms of income, the notaries were also paid in cash for the writing of documents.

iv.iv. Secondary Sources: Zadar's Statutes and the Venetian Relazioni

In this section, a short description of the two secondary sources, the first edition of the Jadertine communal law and the reports sent to Venice by the counts and senior military officers stationed in Zadar is provided. Given their importance as well as additional background for the present study, references to these two editions are as appropriate as they are necessary.

First, the codified communal law, formally entitled *Statuta Iadertina cum omnibus reformationibus usque ad annum MDLXIII factis*, was compiled, edited, and annotated with critical notes under the supervision of Josip Kolanović and Mate Križman in 1997. Originally published in Venice in 1564 – only one year after it was officially enacted by the Jadertine count

¹¹⁰ These prices were fixed under Doge Tommaso Mocenigo (in office from 1414 to 1423) shortly after Venice re-acquired Zadar in 1409. See Ref., cap 132: "Super limitatione et transactione solutionum scripturam fiendarum tam per cancellarios quam per alios scribanos Iadrae." Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 612–8.

¹¹¹ The latter signifying usually being the chaplain of a lazaretto or a chapel in one of Zadar's churches (both of which at times also included a house for the priest or cleric) or being chosen by wealthy testators to celebrate masses in their memory, including befitting eleemosynary.

¹¹² Under Doge Girolamo Priuli (in office from 1559 to 1567) it was decreed that the councillors of the Jadertine Count had to be literate, expressed in the relevant section. See Ref., cap. 154: "Quod consilarii debeant scire legere et scribere." Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 666.

Also, the iudex examinador (judge-examiner) had to sign all notarial instruments within 20 days to validate them, as decreed on 29 June, 1548, as well as all notaries were required to hand in their notes and books before leaving the city for (more than) two months. See Ref., cap. 156: "Quod iudices examinadores subscribere acta notariorum. De examinatione notariorum. Quod notarii absentes extra civitatem per duos menses debeant relinquere in cancellaria sua acta et prothocolla notarilia." Ibid., 670.

in Zadar on 1 March, 1563¹¹³ – under Doge Girolamo Priuli, it contains the codified communal law and a series of amendments added after 1409. Written primarily in Latin, some of the added articles, the so-called *Reformationes*, were drawn up in ‘Italian’, too. It details not only the edition procedures pertaining to the reconstruction efforts of the text but contains also references about other edited communal law compilations in Dalmatia.¹¹⁴ Since the primary sources in almost all notarial instruments and testaments refer to the corresponding legal frameworks given in the statutes, the respective paragraphs will be included in the present study in a complementary manner when necessary.¹¹⁵

Second, the *Commissiones et Relationes Venetae*, first compiled, edited, and published in the latter half of the nineteenth century by Šime Ljubić – and continued about one hundred years later by Grga Novak – provide the comparative top-down view from Venetian officials.¹¹⁶ In the context of the present study, volumes one (documenting the years from 1433 to 1527), two (1525 to 1553), three (1553 to 1571), and, for comparative reasons, four (1572 to 1590) are of particular importance.¹¹⁷ They include reports written by Jadertine counts and captains as well as more general overviews by Venetian legates responsible for the entire Albanian–Dalmatian double province.¹¹⁸ These *relazioni* were written upon returning from an assignment outside Venice proper and were presented and debated in the Senate. The language of the accounts is the Venetian variant of sixteenth-century ‘Italian’ and usually includes references to outstanding individuals encountered – members of the local elites by both merit and/or birth – and is thus also of complementary importance for the present thesis.

¹¹³ As stated in the preface of the statutes, Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 28.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 9–26

¹¹⁵ Also because Franciscus Fumatus, designated “iure consultus” in the preface of the statutes, was a Jadertine noble and *leges utriusque doctor* (doctor of both laws) – a member of Zadar’s urban elite. *Ibid.*, 28.

¹¹⁶ See also the references to these reports and directives being like “moving images.” McKee, “Women under Venetian Colonial Rule,” 35.

¹¹⁷ The three former volumes were published in Zagreb, vol. 1 in 1876, vol. 2 in 1877, vol. 3 in 1880, and are part of the series *Monumenta spectantia historiam slavorum meridionalium*. In addition, at times also quotes from vol. 4, edited and published in 1964 by Grga Novak, are referenced, equally cited in the footnotes.

¹¹⁸ These officials – named *missi*, *sindici*, and/or *provveditore generale* – were senior military, civilian, or a combination of both officials who, in more or less regular intervals, were dispatched by the Venetian Senate to inquire the general status of her possessions abroad. Usually, these reports also included a number of other places and cities they visited, in the context of the present study the reports with references to Zadar will be taken into consideration.

For the office of the *Provveditore generale* in Dalmazia et Albania, established shortly after 1409, his duties, and activities in general, see Cozzi, *Venezia e stati italiani*, 156, Cozzi, *Ambiente veneziano*, 340, and the overview by Vjekoslav Maštrović, *Razvoj sudstva u Dalmaciji u XIX. stoljeću* [The Development of the juridical system in Dalmatia in the 19th century] (Zadar: Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1959), 11–7.

Part I: The Setting

1. The Stato da mar (1358 to 1571)

Venice's Dalmatian possessions, acquired around the turn of the first millennium¹ were the root of almost constant friction with the neighbouring realms, first with Croatia, then with the Croatian–Hungarian kingdom. Finally, around the mid–fourteenth century, facing a large coalition of enemies, Venice had to renounce its claims to its possessions along the oriental littoral of the Adriatic. Signed in the Franciscan monastery in Zadar, the stipulations of the eponymous treaty witnessed Dubrovnik regain its independence and left Louis I of Hungary in control of the entire Dalmatian coast.² Some cities and towns along the Istrian coast remained the only possessions still left in Venetian hands between her eponymous lagoon and the southern tip of the Peloponnese peninsula. As seen from the Piazza San Marco, the geographically then–closest located friendly ports were Methoni (Modone) and Koroni (Corone), dubbed “the eyes of Venice”.³

¹ Venice's growing power enabled her Doge, Pietro II Orseolo, to pursue a more aggressive foreign policy and around the year 1000 he undertook a (series of) naval campaigns along the Istrian and Dalmatian coasts. Poreč (Parenzo), Pula (Pola), Osor (Aussero/Ossero), Zadar, Trogir (Traù), Krk (Veglia), Rab (Arbe), Split (Spalato), and Korčula (Curzola) marked his route – which did not, as Gherardo Ortalli pointed out, result in the immediate Venetian take-over, notwithstanding its undeniable success. Ortalli, “Beyond the Coast,” 15, but see also Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 326–9, Margetić, “Spedizione veneziane,” 218–54, and Gherardo Ortalli, “Pietro II Orseolo: ‘Dux Veneticorum et Dalmaticorum’,” in *Venezia e la Dalmazia anno Mille: Secoli di vicende comuni*, ed. Nedo Fiorentin (Treviso: Canova, 2002), 13–27.

For patterns of colonisation/settlement in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204 in general, see David Jacoby, “The Encounters of Two Societies: Western Conquerors and Byzantines in the Peloponnese after the Fourth Crusade,” *American Historical Review* 78 (1973): 873–906, Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice*, 124–47, and Donald E. Queller and Thomas F. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Philadelphia Press, 1997), 55–78.

² For the Peace of Zadar and its consequences for Hungary, see Pál Engel, Gyula Kristó, and András Kubinyi, *Histoire de la Hongrie médiévale: Des Angevins aux Habsbourgs* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2008), 62–4, Pál Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526* (London: Tauris, 2001), 161–7, Silvano Borsari, “I veneziani delle colonie,” in *Storia di Venezia: La Formazione dello Stato Patrizio*, vol. 3, ed. Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci (Rome: Enciclopedia Italiana, 1996), 127–58, and Bariša Krekić, “Venezia e l'Adriatico,” in *Storia di Venezia: La Formazione dello Stato Patrizio*, ed. Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci (Rome: Enciclopedia Italiana, 1996), 51–85.

For the privileges of Dubrovnik under Hungarian suzerainty, see Janeković–Römer, *Višegradski ugovor*.

³ Arbel, “Colonie d'oltremare,” 949.

For an introductory overview about the Venetian possessions, see also Chambers, *Imperial Age of Venice*, 33–72, and O'Connell, *Men of Empire*, 17–27.

In the wake of the Peace of Zadar, Genoa, Venice's arch-rival for the better part of the Middle Ages, attempted to achieve commercial supremacy in the Eastern Mediterranean. Having already fought a number of wars with each other, the Genoese, well-established in the resurrected Byzantine Empire and controlling the Black Sea trade, the two adversaries faced each other anew in 1379. Fighting initially arose over the tiny island of Tenedos (today: Bozcaada), strategically important due to its location at the southern entrance of the Dardanelles Straits, and soon spread across vast stretches of the Mediterranean. In the ensuing war, as opposed to prior fighting, the Genoese fleet advanced into the Gulf of Venice and landed an expeditionary force near Chioggia, almost strangling Venice's vital access to food and goods through its surrounding lagoon. Facing one of its darkest hours, the Republic of St Mark, thanks to a state-wide mobilisation of forces and willpower, held the ground, and fought back. Soon after the failed Genoese assault upon the very life-lines of the Serenissima, the tide began to turn. Still, the war raged on until it was finally concluded by the Peace of Turin in 1381, ending with the exhaustion of both parties. However, the Venetians were quickly able to reconstitute their economy and finances, while Genoa descended into fractional strife and decline. At this moment, though, Venice officially possessed only Crete and some minor footholds in the Aegean.⁴

What at that moment, given the economic and financial exhaustion of the Republic of St Mark, seemed probably like the beginning of the end of the Venetians' aspirations, however, was only the prelude to a new era of expansion. Shortly after the conclusion of the Chioggia War, the island of Corfu and some minor possessions close by witnessed the extinction of their ruling family and came under Venetian domination in 1386.⁵ Shortly afterwards, by 1389, also Nafplion (Nauplia/Napoli di Romania) and, one year later, the Cyclades (Cicladi) were added to the growing possessions of the Serenissima, too. Around the same time, the large island of Euboea (Negroponte) also came under the suzerainty of the Republic of St Mark. Before the turn of the fourteenth century, Venice also started to acquire outposts in pre-

⁴ The Venetian possessions apart from Crete in 1381 were Kythera (Cerigo), the fortress of Pteleos and a stronghold on vis-à-vis Euboea (Negroponte). In addition to these, a number of small islands and islets in the Aegean Sea, owned by some of the more distinguished Venetian noble families, more or less loosely accepted Venetian suzerainty. For medieval Crete under Venice, see Sally MacKee, *Uncommon Dominion: Venetian Crete and the Myth of Ethnic Purity* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), but follow also Arbel, "Colonie d'oltremare," 947, as well as Thiriet, *Romanie vénétienne*, 63–349.

⁵ Corfu, the islets of Paxos (Paxo) and Antipaxos (Antipaxo) as well as the area around Butrinti (Butrinto), on the opposite mainland of Corfu, were under the control of the Tocco family. After their extinction, these territories passed on to Venice. Arbel, "Colonie d'oltremare," 948, but see also O'Connell, *Men of Empire*, 24–5.

sent-day Albania and Crna Gora (Montenegro), securing the coastal towns of Durrës (Durrazzo), Lëzhe (Alessio), Shkodër (Scutari), and Drisht (Drivasto). Consequently, these acquisitions led to the establishment of the eponymous Venetian province after 1392.⁶

The fifteenth century began under even more promising auspices. As Tamerlane led his armies to conquest, his forces met the Ottoman host outside Ankara in 1402 and, whilst soundly defeating it, took their sultan Bayezid I prisoner. He died in captivity shortly afterwards, plunging the Ottoman realm into a decade-long succession crisis accompanied by fighting between the various fractions.⁷ Against this background Venice, for time being untroubled by the Ottomans, continued its expansion. The cities of Bar (Antibari/Antivari), Budva (Budua), and Ulcinj (Dulcigno) were added to the Serenissima's Albanian possessions in 1405, followed by Nafpaktos/Naupaktos (Lepanto) in 1408 and Patras (Patrasso) in the following year.⁸ The next large territorial acquisitions followed suit in the same year – but along the oriental littoral of the Adriatic.

Louis I of Hungary the Great had driven the Venetians from the cities and towns along the Dalmatian coast, forcing them to recognise his claims in the Peace of Zadar half a century earlier. Considered among the Magyars' greatest monarchs, he died only one year after the Peace of Turin. While his accomplishments stand out, soon after his death his vast realm⁹ disintegrated in short order into fractional strife and in-fighting between various competing contenders for the Crown of St Stephen.¹⁰ The succession crisis had not been resolved by 1409, the year in which Ladislaus of Naples, last of the senior Angevin line and titular King of Hungary since 1390, sold his hereditary rights to Dalmatia along with his remaining possessions

⁶ Even though Venice's Albanian possessions are not the topic of the present study, it is necessary to highlight also these developments to the south of Dalmatia, mostly because by the 16th century, Venice considered Albania–Dalmatia a double province. In general, follow Ducellier, *Façade maritime de l'Albanie*, and Schmitt, *Venezianisches Albanien*, for details on maritime commerce and trade around 1600, see Bogumil Hrabak, "Poslovanje pomoraca i trgovaca iz Boko kotorske u Albaniji do 1600. Godine [Maritime commerce and trading in the Bay of Kotor in Albania until 1600]," *Spomenik Srpska Akademija Nauka (SANU) – Odeljenje istorijskih nauka* 5 (1986): 9–47.

⁷ See John V. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans: A critical survey from the late 12th century to the Ottoman conquest* (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1987), 499–522.

⁸ Arbel, "Colonie d'oltremare," 948.

For the three former places, today part of Montenegro, see also Gelcich, *Dinastia dei Balšidi*, 208–37.

⁹ Comprising Poland, Hungary, Croatia, and Dalmatia.

¹⁰ For Louis I of Hungary and his accomplishments, see Engel, *Realm of St Stephen*, 157–94, as well as Engel, Kristó, and Kubinyi, *Hongarie médiévale*, 57–95

Louis' daughter with Elizabeth of Bosnia, Mary, married Sigismund of Luxembourg, who later became King of Bohemia, Hungary, and Holy Roman Emperor. However, Charles III of Naples claimed the Hungarian throne as well. Despite his death in 1386, his son Ladislaus of Naples (born 1376/77 to 1414), the last male of the senior Angevin line, continued his father's claims to the Crown of St Stephen. See Engel, *Realm of St Stephen*, 195–243.

to Venice for the sum of 100,000 ducats.¹¹ The Republic of St Mark, eager to re-assert her influence over the eastern shores of the Adriatic in order to provide more security to its mercantile shipping, accepted. Over the course of the following decades, the Venetians were able to extend their hold over Dalmatia¹² as well as over parts of north-eastern Italy, too.¹³

Until the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the Ottoman expansion into the Balkans was all but barely noticed in Italy and the rest of Europe.¹⁴ It was only after the fall of the Byzantine Empire, the “bulwark of Christendom”¹⁵, and the subsequent relocation of the Ottoman capital from Edirne (Adrianopoli) to Istanbul in 1457, that things did start to change fundamentally.¹⁶ The first to bear the brunt of the Ottoman onslaught, commencing in the subsequent year, were the minor realms of the western Balkans, the remnants of the Byzantine

¹¹ These last Angevin strongholds were the islands of Cres (Cherso), Osor (Aussero/Ossero), and Rab (Arbe), as well as the cities of Zadar (Zara) and Nin (Nona). For the Venetian acquisitions in/off Dalmatia in 1409, see Krekić, “Venezia e l’Adriatico,” 79–82, Grga Novak, *Prošlost Dalmacije* [The Past of Dalmatia] (Zagreb: Golden Marketing, 2001), 129–31, 137–44.

¹² In 1412, Šibenik (Sebenico/Sibenico) was annexed, followed by Pag (Pago), Vrana (Aurana), Trogir (Traù), Split (Spalato), Omiš (Almissa), and the islands of Brač (Brazza), Vis (Lissa), and Korčula (Curzola) in 1420. The same year saw also the acquisition of Kotor (Cattaro) in present-day Crna Gora (Montenegro) and Pylos (Navarino) in the Peloponnese. Hvar (Lesina) was occupied in 1421, Thessaloniki (Salonica) in 1423; the Serb coastal clan of the Paštrovići (Pastrovichi), ruling between Budva (Budua) and Bar (Antibari/Antivari), accepted Venetian suzerainty in 1423, while the commune of Poljica (Poglizza), situated near Omiš (Almissa) in the vicinity of Split, did so in 1443. Arbel, “Colonie d’oltremare,” 948–9.

¹³ Often forgotten to be mentioned in the same context, the Venetian expansion into mainland Italy needs to be noted here, too. Starting in 1389 with Treviso, the Republic of St Mark quickly expanded throughout Friuli and the Po Valley into Lombardy by subduing Brescia (1426) and Bergamo (1429), in addition, Ravenna was annexed in 1441. In both directions of expansion, it was Venetian policy to adapt and amend the already existing legal and administrative organisations and institutions in a newly-acquired territory – and this was the case in both mainland Italy, the so-called Terraferma (from Brescia and Bergamo to Istria) as well as in Dalmatia or further away (from Pula/Pola southeastwards). Cozzi, *Ambiente veneziano*, 292.

For the reactions to Venice’s expansion into mainland Italy, see Nicolai Rubinstein, “Italian Reactions to Terraferma expansion in the 15th century,” in *Renaissance Venice*, ed. John R. Hale (London: Faber & Faber, 1973), 197–217, for Istria, follow Ivetić, *Oltremare*, 21–47.

¹⁴ See Franz Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit: Weltenstürmer einer Zeitenwende* (Munich: Piper, 1987), 1–66, Kenneth M. Setton, ed., *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571): The Fifteenth Century* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1978), 1–38, Engel, *Realm of St Stephen*, 295–7, Engel, Kristó, and Kubinyi, *Hongarie médiévale*, 205–7. See also Steven Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople 1453* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1965).

For refugees from the wider Eastern Mediterranean area in general, see Alain Ducellier, ed., *Les Chemins de l’exil: Bouleversements de l’Est européen et migrations vers l’Ouest à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Colin, 1992), for information about the Byzantine scholars in the West, good starting points are John Monfasani, *Byzantine Scholars in Renaissance Italy: Cardinal Bessarion and Other Emigrés* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1995), and Deno J. Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice: Studies in the Dissemination of Greek Learnings from Byzantium to Western Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2001).

¹⁵ Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer*, 106.

¹⁶ In Italy, the almost continuous fighting between the five main contenders for supremacy – Florence, Milan, Naples, the Papacy, and Venice – ended with the Peace of Lodi in 1454, probably also under the impression of the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople. However, peace lasted only for about a year, when, in 1455, Pope Alexander VI allied himself with Florence and Naples against Milan. See Setton, *Papacy and the Levant*, 138–60.

Empire in Trebizond (Trabzon) and the Morea (Peloponnese) as well as the Venetian possessions in both Albania and Dalmatia.¹⁷

Not even a decade after the demise of the Byzantine Empire, the Ottoman armies continued to advance in a northwest direction, subduing Serbia in 1459 and Bosnia in 1463. Furthermore, advancing southwards into the Aegean and the Peloponnese, the Sultan's troops also reached the Albanian lands.¹⁸ In the midst between the Venetian and their Ottomans adversaries stood Gjergj Kastrioti Skanderbeg, supported by the Serenissima, commanding an alliance of local warlords in an effort to keep the Sultan's troops from his homelands.¹⁹ While the war saw early Venetian losses, most notably Euboea (Negroponte), the Republic of St Mark was able to expand its maritime empire elsewhere. Shortly after the outbreak of the war, Momemvasia (Malvasia) was acquired in 1464²⁰, while in 1473 the Senate managed to install

¹⁷ For the minor realms and Venetian possessions under Ottoman attack, see Nicolas Vatin, "L'ascension des Ottomans (1451–1512)," in *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, ed. Robert Mantran (Paris: Fayard, 1989), 81–116, Ernst Werner, *Die Geburt einer Großmacht – die Osmanen, 1300–1481* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1985), and Fine, *Late Medieval Balkans*, 345–611.

¹⁸ The Ottoman conquests also included the Despotate of Morea and the Empire of Trebizond (Trabzon), the last remaining remnants of the Byzantine Empire, both conquered in 1460/61. Lesbos (Lesbo) and Chios (Chio/Scio), both Genoese possessions, as well as the were vassals of the Porte from 1458 onwards, only to be annexed to the Ottoman Empire in 1462, too. In general, see Finkel, *Osman's Dream*, 60–3, Shaw, *Ottoman Empire*, 64–5, for the Despotate of Morea, see Steven Runciman, *Lost Capital of Byzantium: The History of Mistra and the Peloponnese* (London: Tauris Parke, 2009).

¹⁹ Skanderbeg, once an Ottoman hostage–turned resistance fighter against the Porte, gathered a meeting of Albanian nobles at Lëzhe (Alessio) in 1444 and managed to contribute to temporarily stemming the advance of the Sultan's forces, at times personally commanded by Mehmed II. After Skanderbeg's death in 1467 his wife was granted Venetian citizenship, however, Skanderbeg's family re-settled in the kingdom of Naples (where they were granted feudal possessions). He was also championed in Europe from the very onset of his fight against Christendom's enemies, highlighted by the writings of Marinus Barletus, a Catholic priest of Albanian descent who, upon his arrival in Venice after the fall of his hometown of Shkodër (Scutari), wrote, inter alia, a biography of Skanderbeg, the *Historia de vita et rebus gestis Scanderbegi*, first published in Rome by Bernardinus Venetus de Vitalibus around 1510 and, over the course of the 16th century, became a 'best-seller' all across western Europe. The most recent publications about Skanderbeg are Kristo Frashëri, *Gjergj Kastrioti Skënderbeu: Jeta dhe vepra, 1405–1468* [Gjergj Kastrioti Skënderbeu: Life and Works, 1405–1468] (Tirana: Botimet Toena, 2002, available in Albanian only), and Oliver J. Schmitt, *Skanderbeg: Der neue Alexander auf dem Balkan* (Regensburg: Pustet, 2009).

Many Albanians, too, fled as a consequence of the fighting and/or in the aftermath of the war, mostly resettling in Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, eventually forming the Arbëreshë, the ethnic Albanian minority in Italy, arriving in waves from the 15th to 18th century. For further information about those migratory movements, see Michael Balard, ed., *Migrations et diasporas méditerranéennes, Xe–XVie siècles* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2002), Ducellier, *Chemins de l'exil*, and Petta, *Despoti d'Epiro*. In addition, many wars in Italy and by the Serenissima have been fought deploying light Albanian cavalry, the so-called stradioti/stratiotti, for information pertaining to them, see Petta, *Stratioti*.

²⁰ Not to be forgotten, Cervia, a small coastal town south of Ravenna, was acquired in 1463. As Venice's expansion in mainland Italy started shortly after 1400, these have to be taken into consideration, too. Arbel, "Colonie d'oltremare," 949.

Caterina Cornaro as Queen of Cyprus, paving the way for the annexation of the island kingdom in 1489.²¹

The war between the Ottomans and the Venetians came to a close in 1479. While the treaty saw the Republic of St Mark lose large areas in present-day Albania, most notably Shkodër (Scutari)²², the stipulations reaffirmed the Venetian quasi take-over of Cyprus.²³ The Serenissima's expansion continued in the following year with the final incorporation of Krk (Veglia) in the Kvarnerski zaljev (Golfo del Quarnero)²⁴, and in 1482 saw the acquisition of Zakynthos (Jacinto/Zante).²⁵ In addition to these, some temporary positions in the Aegean and Apulia could temporarily be gained but not retained.²⁶

Peace between the Ottomans and the Venetian Republic lasted only for two decades, in 1499 war broke out anew. The Serenissima lost its eyes – Methoni (Modone) and Koroni (Corone) – in the wake of the Battle of Zonchio (also known as Battle of Sapienza or the First Battle of Lapento) to the Ottomans in the same year. Nonetheless, in 1500 Venice took over

²¹ For the Venetian take-over of Cyprus, see Benjamin Arbel, *Cyprus, the Franks, and Venice, 13th–16th Centuries* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2000), Benjamin Arbel, “The Reign of Caterina Corner (1473–1489) as a Family Affair,” *Studi Veneziani* 26 (1993): 67–85, Cozzi and Knapton, *Repubblica di Venezia nell'età moderna*, vol. 1, 62, George Hill, *A History of Cyprus: The Frankish Period, 1432–1571* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1948, 660–742, and Jean Richard, “Chypre du protectorat à la domination vénétienne,” in *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV: Atti del I Convegno Internazionale di Storia della Civiltà Veneziana (Venezia, 1–5 giugno 1968)*, vol. 1, ed. Agostino Pertusi (Florence: Olschki, 1973), 657–77.

²² For the long war between the Ottomans and Venice from 1463 to 1479, which also included two sieges (the first being in 1474) and the of fall Scutari in 1478/79, see Schmitt, *Venezianisches Albanien*, 593–628.

Also, the first siege is commemorated by a relief on the outside of the Scuola degli Albanesi in Venice as well as on the tomb of then-doge Pietro Mocenigo in the Dominican church of Santi Giovanni e Paolo. As for the relief on the wall of the Scuola degli Albanesi as well as an overview about these Venetian institutions, see Brian S. Pullan, “Natura e carattere delle Scuole,” in *Le Scuole di Venezia*, ed. Terisio Pignatti and Brian S. Pullan (Milan: Elenca, 1981), 9–26, as well as the reference to the Scuola degli Albanesi on 89–93.

For the Albanian presence in medieval Venice, follow Alain Ducellier, “Les Albanais à Venise aux XIVe et XVe siècles,” in *L'Albanie entre Byzance et Venise: Xe–XVe siècles*, ed. Alain Ducellier (London: Variorum Reprints, 1987), 405–20.

²³ For a detailed account of Cypriot history, see George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1948–1952), for the Venetian period, follow Hill, *Cyprus: The Frankish Period*, 657–764.

²⁴ Krk (Veglia) had been ruled by the Frankopan (Frangipane) family until 1480, then came under Venetian protection. Arbel, “Colonie d'oltremare,” 949.

However, the family is probably best known for its role in the Zrinski–Frankopan or Hungarian Magnate conspiracy in the second half of the 17th century. Therefore, see Charles W. Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1618–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2000), 66.

²⁵ Arbel, “Colonie d'oltremare,” 949.

²⁶ These being the Duchy of Naxos (Nasso), directly administered by Venice from 1494 to 1500 and 1511 to 1517 in the Aegean and a number of Apulian coastal towns – Brindisi, Gallipoli, Mola, Monopoli, Trani, and Otranto – from 1495 to 1509 and for another brief period from 1528 to 1530. Arbel, “Colonie d'oltremare,” 947–9.

In general, see also Guglielmo Heyd, *Le colonie commerciali degli Italiani in Oriente nel medio evo*, 2 vols., (Venice and Turin: Antonelli, 1866).

For the Aegean islands, see Raymond–Joseph Loenertz, “De quelques îles grecques et de leurs seigneurs vénétien aux XIVe et XVe siècles,” *Studi Veneziani* 14 (1972): 3–35, Peter Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500* (London: Longman, 1995), 144–51, and Ben Slot, *Archipelagus Turbatus: Les Cyclades entre colonisation latine et occupation ottoman, 1500–1718*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch–Archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Oosten, 1982), 35–87.

Kefalonia (Cefalonia) and neighbouring Ithaki (Itaca), successfully replacing the lost ports in the Peloponnese with the Ionian islands. Without any further major events, the war dragged for another two to three years, and when the Sultan's raiding parties reached Friuli via land routes, the Venetian Senate was ready to sue for peace.²⁷ In its aftermath – despite its gains in Lombardy – the Republic's reputation was stained and after roughly a century of expansion, Venice's adversaries forged an alliance at Cambrai. The ensuing conflict almost destroyed the Republic, however, after its ignominious defeat at Agnadello (1509), the Venetians were able to successfully stem the tide – not without considering a plea to the Sultan for assistance.²⁸

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the *Stato da mar* reached its maximum territorial size and this coincided with peace in the Eastern Mediterranean until the 1530s. However, events decisively shaping the centuries to come took place during this period. First, the Portuguese were able to establish direct sea trading with India by circumnavigating Africa in 1507.²⁹ Second, the Ottoman Empire expanded further south-eastwards, most notably conquering Syria and Egypt in 1516/17, the “decisive event to their greatness.”³⁰ Despite these developments, at first the Sultan's ambitions focused on areas other than Venice³¹, before the larger contest between Charles V and Suleiman I forced the Republic of St Mark to choose sides anew.³²

²⁷ Arbel, “Colonie d'oltremare,” 949–50.

The treaty stipulations included losses as well as some gains, most notably Kefalonia (Cefalonia) and Zakynthos (Jacinto/Zante), for which an annual tribute of 500 ducats had to be paid by Venice. Still, freedom of commerce according to the treaty of 1481 was guaranteed anew by the Porte.

For details of the War of 1499–1503, follow Gullino, “Frontiere navali,” 90–5.

²⁸ Ibid., 95–6.

²⁹ For the impact of the Portuguese establishing themselves in the Red Sea and in India, see Ugo Tucci, “Le monete in Italia,” in *Storia d'Italia: I documenti*, ed. Romano Ruggiero (Turin: Einaudi, 1973), 542 (534–79).

³⁰ Braudel, *Mediterranean*, vol. 2, 667–9.

³¹ Suleiman I acceded to the Ottoman throne in 1520 and soon started to expand his empire: One year later Belgrade was taken, in 1522 Rhodes was besieged but able to withstand the onslaught. By 1526, Hungary was utterly defeated on the fields of Mohács, leading up to the first siege of Vienna in 1529, followed by a second failed attempt in 1532. For further information about Suleiman, named ‘the Magnificent’, see Tülay Düran, ed., *The Ottoman Empire in the Reign of Süleyman the Magnificent*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: Historical Research Foundation, Istanbul Research Center, 1988), Halil İnalcık, *Süleymân the Second and his Time* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1993).

³² The alliance between Francis I and Suleiman I was renewed in 1536, prompting an emissary of the Sultan to invite Venice to join the Franco–Ottoman alliance. As a consequence of Venice's treaty of Naples with Charles V, concluded in 1535, the Republic joined the Emperor's alliance, causing the Ottomans to invest Corfu as early as August 1537. For the Franco–Ottoman alliance between Francis I and Suleiman I, see Édith Garnier, *L'alliance impie: François Ier et Soliman le Magnifique contre Charles Quint, 1529–1547* (Paris: Félin-Kiron, 2008).

The two next rounds of fighting against the Ottomans, the wars of two so-called ‘Holy Leagues’ from 1537 to 1541 and 1570 to 1573, witnessed considerable losses for Venice.³³ In the former, the Battle of Preveza on 28 September, 1538, was lost – and so were Monemvasia (Malvasia) and Nafplion (Nauplia/Napoli di Romania) in the Peloponnese as well as some of the islands of the Cyclades and in the Ionian Sea.³⁴ The peace treaty of 1541 caused a significant reduction of Venice’s overseas possessions. And while the Ottoman Empire reached its apogee during the sixteenth century, the Republic of St Mark lost also the next war. Despite Christendom’s victory off Lepanto on 7 October, 1571, the island-kingdom of Cyprus, the largest and richest of their overseas territory, as well as the cities of Bar (Antibari/Antivari) and Ulcinj (Dulcigno) could not be saved by the Venetians.³⁵

Considering Venice and its imperial expansion into the Eastern Mediterranean, especially during the last quarter of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth century, one needs to bear the expanding Ottoman Empire also in mind. Both quickly expanded into the power vacuum left by the moribund Byzantine Empire and its feeble Anatolian and Balkan neighbours.³⁶ After the first Ottoman–Venetian war over Thessaloniki (Salonica) in the 1420s, the former’s advances into the western Balkans directly threatened the Dalmatian hinterlands of Venice’s coastal possessions³⁷, making future conflicts inevitable.³⁸ Still, the long war between 1463 and 1479 was fought only after virtually all buffer realms in-between the two

³³ For a contemporary account of the war of 1537/41, see Francesco Longo’s “Descrizione della guerra saeguita tra la serenissima republica di Venetia e sultan Solimano imperator de Turchi l’anno 1537. Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 1 [= *Monumenta*, vol. 6], 113–31.

For a description of the ensuing peace accord with the Ottomans, see the report of Alvise Baduario, “ambasciatore veneto presso il Turco intorno alla conclusione della pace.” Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2 [= *Monumenta*, vol. 8], 136–44.

³⁴ These islands were Aigina (Egina), Delos (Delo), and Mykonos (Micono). In addition, the islets ruled by branches of the Venier, Querini, Premarin, Michiel, and Pisani families in the Aegean as well as Antipaxos (Antipaxo) and Paxo (Paxo) in the Ionian Sea, were lost. Loenertz, “Îles grecques,” 3–35.

³⁵ Arbel, “Colonie d’oltremare,” 951.

³⁶ The weak and disintegrating Bulgarian, Serbian realms, and the various other neighbouring entities, including the above-mentioned Despotate of Morea and the Empire of Trebizond (Trabzon), all of which proved to be no match for the Sultan’s armies.

³⁷ Soon after the Venetians re-acquired Dalmatia after 1409, new threats – the Ottoman Empire – emerged from the hinterlands. From 1432 onwards, intrusions by Ottoman raiders into Venetian Dalmatia were rather common. Plunderers and bandits enslaved the local residents, robbed their homes, and took away their livestock. Those who survived this ordeal and/or fled to the fortified places at the sea, took refuge within the walls, further crowding the small towns. These events and the subsequent Ottoman threats to Venice’s coastal cities caused the Republic of St Mark to invest heavily into the fortifications of strategic positions along the Dalmatian coast. See for instance the report by Marc’Antonio Michiel, dated 24 March, 1514. Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 132.

³⁸ Quoted after Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 24–5.

Virtually the same has been reported by Marc’Antonio Michiel on 31 January, 1520, see Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 142.

For the Ottoman advances into the Bosnian–Dalmatian hinterlands and the abilities of the Hungarian Kingdom to defend its possessions in the western Balkans, see Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 199–206.

powers were gobbled up by either of them.³⁹ This division correlates to Benjamin Arbel's three major phases – termed expansion, stagnation, decline – of the Serenissima's overseas possessions between 1381 and 1571. After an initial expansion from the Peace of Turin to the Ottoman–Venetian war (1463 to 1479), the Venetians were not able to expand further over the subsequent decades. Having reached some sort of equilibrium over the subsequent decades, as a consequence of the Ottoman–Venetian war from 1537 to 1541, culminating in the Battle of Preveza in 1538, the Ottomans gained the upper hand over the first half of the sixteenth century. Consequently, the *Stato da mar* began to shrink considerably from the 1540s onwards, a tendency further confirmed by the outcome of the subsequent Cyprus War.⁴⁰

1.1. Patterns of Expansion

The aftermath of the Treaty of Turin saw the Ottomans penetrating deep into the Balkans, eventually reaching the fields of Kosovo in 1389 and contributing further to the destabilisation of the entire region. In the wake of the Ottoman advance, many realms in the western Balkans and the Aegean felt the mounting outside pressure, requiring consequences in their respective foreign affairs. In addition, many communities and regions on both shores of the Adriatic soon became pawns in the Angevin–Aragonese⁴¹–Luxembourg game of thrones.⁴² All this chaos and instability combined contributed to the expansion of Venice into areas previously out of its reach. Whilst in some cases these circumstances coincided with the extinc-

³⁹ Thessaloniki was conquered in 1430, both the battles by Varna (1444) and, for a second time, on the fields of Kosovo (1448) were won by the Ottomans. Soon after the capture of Constantinople (1453), Belgrade was besieged in 1456 and Mehmed II then advanced into Thessaly and the Peloponnese. By 1461, Wallachia was subdued and the Empire of Trebizond (Trabzon) conquered. After these successes, the Ottomans aimed at the Aegean and Ionian Seas, areas of crucial importance to Venice's long-distance overseas trade, thus causing another round of fighting.

⁴⁰ For the referenced categorisation, see Arbel, "Colonie d'oltremare," 951.

For frontier changes after the Cyprus War, see Walter Panciera, "La frontiera dalmata nel XVI secolo: Fonti e problemi," *Società e Storia* 114 (2006): 783–804.

⁴¹ The Catalan merchants were already engaged in a multitude of affairs in the trade with the Eastern Mediterranean when, in 1416, Alfonso became king of Aragon. Soon afterwards he was adopted by the queen of Naples, thus securing the Aragonese claim to the Italian south. After a series of encounters, his troops finally marched into Naples in 1442. As a consequence, Catalan interests shifted westwards, for accounts of these events, see Fine, *Late Medieval Balkans*, 389–405, 453–546, as well as Kenneth M. Setton, "Catalans and Florentines in Greece, 1380–1462," in *A History of the Crusades: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, vol. 3, ed. Harry W. Hazard (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1975), 225–77.

For the Kingdom of Naples, see Benedetto Croce and Giuseppe Galasso, eds., *Storia del Regno di Napoli* (Milan: Adelphi Editrice, 1992), Giuseppe Galasso, ed., *Storia d'Italia: Il Regno di Napoli: Il Mezzogiorno angioino e aragonese, 1266–1494* (Turin: UTET, 1992), 561–624.

For its policies in the Eastern Mediterranean in the 15th century, follow Constantin Marinescu, *La politique orientale d'Alfonse V d'Aragon, roi de Naples, 1416–1458* (Barcelona: Institut d'estudis Catalans, 1994), and Alan Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous: King of Aragon, Naples and Sicily, 1396–1458* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990).

⁴² For the succession crises over the Crown of St Stephen after the death of Louis I in 1382, see Engel, *Realm of St Stephen*, 195–243.

tion of various ruling dynasties, the enlargement of her maritime possessions may not exclusively be attributed to these factors. At times, some acquisitions were already in quasi-Venetian hands, for instance, some of the Aegean islands were effectively the possession of some patrician families.⁴³ Another case was the annexation of Zakynthos (Jacinto/Zante) in 1482, which was occupied by Venice after the local residents disposed of their ruler.⁴⁴

After the Republic of St Mark emerged victorious from the Chioggia War (1378 to 1381), she almost immediately renewed her imperial efforts in both mainland Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean. Taking advantage of the confusing circumstances in the Balkans during the last quarter of the fourteenth century, Venice was able to capitalise on the disintegration of local and/or regional Albanian, Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian realms.⁴⁵ Some coastal communities in present-day Albania and Montenegro (Crna Gora)⁴⁶ had to be acquired employing military means⁴⁷, some came under Venetian protection by means of marriage.⁴⁸ The most renowned morning gift, of course, being the island of Cyprus, bequeathed to the Serenissima after she gave away Caterina Cornaro, her ‘Daughter of St Mark’, to the Lusignan king James II in 1473.⁴⁹ In some cases local communes invited the Venetians after the extinction out or disposal of their former ruling families or simply in order to avoid being conquered by the Ottomans.⁵⁰

⁴³ Slot, *Archipelagus Turbatus*, 35–87, and O’Connell, *Men of Empire*, 25–7.

⁴⁴ Arbel, “Colonie d’oltremare,” 951, but see also Giuseppe Valentini, “Appunti sul regime degli stabilimenti veneti in Albania nel secolo XIV e XV,” *Studi Veneziani* 8 (1966): 206 (195–265).

⁴⁵ For Southeastern Europe in general, follow Fine, *Late Medieval Balkans*, 345–611, for Crete, see McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, 19–56.

for the aspects of military colonisation resulting in the re-creation of many aspects of the society of Venice proper in her overseas dominions, see David Jacoby, “La colonisation militaire vénétienne de la Crète au XIIIe siècle,” in *Le partage du monde: Échanges et colonisation dans la Méditerranée médiévale*, ed. Michel Balard and Alain Ducellier (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1998), 297–313, and David Jacoby, “Social Evolution in Latin Greece,” in *A History of the Crusades: The Impact of the Crusades on Europe*, vol. 6, ed. Norman P. Zaccour and Harry W. Hazard (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 177–222.

⁴⁶ The Venetian province of Albania comprised cities and territories in both present-day Albania and Crna Gora (Montenegro). For more on the Venetian expansion into this area, see Ducellier, *Façade maritime de l’Albanie*, 490–509, Schmitt, *Venezianisches Albanien*, and Valentini, “Stabilimenti veneti in Albania,” 195–265.

⁴⁷ As was the case with the cities of Shkodër (Scutari), Ulcinj (Dulcigno), Bar (Antibar/Antivari), and Budva (Budua). Arbel, “Colonie d’oltremare,” 951, and Valentini, “Stabilimenti veneti in Albania,” but also follow Gelcich, *Dinastia dei Balšidi*, 208–37.

⁴⁸ In 1388, Argos (Argo) and Nafplion (Nauplia/Napoli di Romania) were bequeathed to Venice by her feudal lordship who married a member of the Venetian Corner family. Arbel, “Colonie d’oltremare,” 951.

⁴⁹ Richard, “Chypre,” 657–77.

⁵⁰ As happened in the cases of Aigina (Egina) after the death of its ruler in 1451 or Zakynthos (Jacinto/Zante) after the death of its sovereign by the hands of his subjects in 1482. As for the latter, Thessaloniki (Salonica), under Venetian rule from 1423 to 1430, did so in order to avoid the Ottomans from taking over, however, once it became clear that Venice hesitated, Patras went over to the Despotate of Morea, only to be almost immediately challenged by Mehmed II. Arbel, “Colonie d’oltremare,” 951.

Under all these circumstances, the advantages and disadvantages of expansion were deliberated in the Venetian Senate before taking action. The rationales for the acquisition of new dependencies were of mainly economic and over-all strategic nature. All opportunities and possible negative side effects were considered in the context of their commercial, diplomatic, and strategic cost–benefit implications. The consequences of occupying a city or territory, its defensive needs once annexed, and possible integration within the long–distance sea trade were of prime interest to the planners in the councils of government.⁵¹ Some places were considered and Venetian protection was granted to them, some others failed to attract the Serenissima’s commitment.⁵² In some other cases, most notably concerning the Cypriote succession in 1473, the initiative was taken by Venice. Whilst fighting the Ottoman Empire in its Albanian possessions for a decade by then, the decision to intervene was taken swiftly. Once the Cypriote king James II was dead, his widow Catarina Cornaro sent for Venetian support. As a consequence, Cyprus became a Venetian protectorate and was formally incorporated into the *Stato da mar* in 1489.⁵³

Once the Senate had decided to expand its empire, a formal contract between this or that commune and the Serenissima was agreed upon. Usually, these so–called *capitoli* (chapters) contained not only the legal basis of the Venetian dominion but they also guaranteed the privileges and rights of the local residents, obtained from their respective previous rulers. And, from time to time, Venice even refrained from carrying the costs of her imperial–mercantile

⁵¹ For a general economic background on Venice during the 15th and first decades of the 16th century, see Doumerc, “Dominio del mare,” 113–80.

⁵² For instance, the cities of Zadar and Kotor (Cattaro) sought Venetian protection at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries, before finally being annexed after 1409. See Krekić, “Venezia e l’Adriatico,” 66–78, Pederin, “Venezianisches Handelssystem,” 100–3, and Praga, *Storia di Dalmazia*, 133–35.

⁵³ Richard, “Chypre,” 657–77.

ventures.⁵⁴ The result were concessions to single patricians or a feudal investiture, subject to over-all Venetian protection.⁵⁵

In any event, the new Venetian administration in both mainland Italy and in the Eastern Mediterranean followed the same patterns. Once a city or town had been placed under the Serenissima's control, the authorities incorporated legislative amendments necessary to ruling into the pre-existing legal systems of medieval origin.⁵⁶ Distinctions between the Stato da mar and the Venetian possessions in mainland Italy, the so-called Terraferma, were drawn up by the Senate after the 1440s.⁵⁷ Usually, as exemplified by Benjamin Arbel, this meant that the new Venetian overlords were invested by the local authorities with their new suzerainty. In return, the Serenissima guaranteed, to a certain extent and always serving her own interests in

⁵⁴ Venice did not automatically accept all parts of pre-existing legislation, especially in the context of privileges obtained during the Hungarian suzerainty in the second half of the 14th century, as evidenced by the cases of Drivast (Drivasto), Split (Spalato), Šibenik (Sebenico), and Trogir (Traù). O'Connell, *Men of Empire*, 32–3.

These concessions of colonial enterprises lead to the question whether or not the Venetians (and the Genoese, too, for that matter) were (proto-) colonial entities. Can one speak of "chartered colonial enterprise"? As Marc Ferro points out, colonisation is usually associated with the occupation of foreign lands, the cultivation of said new acquisitions and their settlements. If this definition would be used, then the phenomenon dates back to the ancient Greeks. Likewise, one speaks of first Athenian, then Roman imperialism. While traditional Western historiography suggests the beginning of colonial expansion at the time of the Great Discoveries during the 15th century, the terminology (colony, colonisation), once used by the Romans, disappears – with the only exceptions being medieval Genoa and Venice and their establishments on the far shores of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. Since the West applies the terms (territorial) expansion and colonisation more or less synonymously, the distinction goes as follows: Open sea in-between is supposed to constitute the difference between these concepts. On the contrary, Arab historiographers placed the first invasions of the lands of Islam in 1085 – the capture of Toledo by Alfonso of Castile. Marc Ferro's argument concludes that medieval Genoa and Venice were, in fact, colonial powers, thus rendering it possible to speak of *colonialism*. See Marc Ferro, *Colonization: A Global History* (London: Routledge, 1997), 1–18.

"Cultural kinship between Venetians and Byzantines/Greeks make the Venetian possessions stand apart from later colonial enterprises. Yet, the administration, politics, and ideology of the Venetian imperial enterprise were similar to modern colonialism," argues Maria Georgopoulou, a claim furthered by her pointing at the medieval Venice's expansion into the remnants of the Byzantine Empire providing the necessary economic, ideological, and cultural capital to define themselves as an imperial entity. Georgopoulou, *Mediterranean Colonies*, 4–20, the quote is from page 20.

For further discussion of this topic, see Eliyahu Ashtor, "The Venetian Supremacy in Levantine Trade: Monopoly or Pre-Colonialism?," *Journal of European Economic History* 3, no. 1 (1974): 5–53.

For further discussion, start with Lock, *Franks in the Aegean*, Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978), and Charles Verlinden, *The Beginnings of Modern Colonialism* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1970).

⁵⁵ For example, between 1390 and 1429, the islands of Tinos (Tino) and Mykonos (Micono) were administered by a number of members of Venetian patrician families. It was only after repeated petitions by their inhabitants that did Venice assume direct control. Arbel, "Colonie d'oltremare," 952.

⁵⁶ Distinctions between the Stato da mar and Venice's Terraferma possessions were, generally speaking, negligible. The means of acquisitions were basically the same in the Aegean as in Friuli, also, the administrative institutions controlling Cyprus or Treviso were fundamentally the same. In conclusion, Benjamin Arbel also points out that the economic and fiscal differences were negligible, too, for there was only one dimension, that of the centre (Venice) versus its dependencies. Arbel, "Colonie d'oltremare," 954.

For the legal components and peculiarities of the Venetian Republic, see the discussion between Cozzi, "Politica del diritto," 217–318, the response by Angelo Ventura, "Politica del diritto e amministrazione della giustizia nella repubblica veneta," *Rivista Storica Italiana* 94 (1982): 589–608, as well as the corresponding remarks and further literature given in Julius Kirshner, *The Origins of the State in Italy, 1300–1600* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1995), 86.

⁵⁷ Arbel, "Colonie d'oltremare," 954, but see also the commentary thereto in O'Connell, *Men of Empire*, 22–33.

the first place, the privileges of the local elite and the corresponding social order. On the organisational level, the different and various Venetian possessions combined formed a large entity in which, if possible, the respective hinterlands provided the agricultural basis for the coastal communities. From a commercial perspective, the Ionian islands and Corfu in particular, from whose harbour all trading convoys spread out into the Mediterranean and beyond, were of utmost importance.⁵⁸ Whereas the exercise of military power and/or economic reasons were concerned, the Venetians enacted additional chapters to the legal systems, thus cementing their position, a routine pattern of administrative take-over in the *Stato da mar*.⁵⁹ In conclusion, the very same institutions controlling, say, Crete were also in charge of Treviso or Grado. Also, the differences between economic and fiscal organisation were quite negligible, thus making the only real difference the one between the centre and its dependencies.⁶⁰

1.2. Imperial Organisation: Military, Piracy, and the Church

The following section addresses a variety of issues, mainly along the following two lines: First, both domestic and foreign actions taken in the centre of power had implications in Venice, its dependencies, and in the neighbouring realms. Second, in addition to the government-centred overview, its consequences for the Venetian dominions are discussed, too. Given the already detailed state of research focusing on the centre of power, more attention is focused on the changes and developments within the fabric of the *Stato da mar* after 1409 in general, though emphasising on its Adriatic components in particular.

Venice's territorial expansion into mainland Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean after the Peace of Turin triggered a number of administrative and institutional consequences. By the 1440s, divisions between the *Terraferma* and the *Stato da mar* were drawn up by the Senate,

⁵⁸ Arbel, "Colonie d'oltremare," 959–60, 964.

For information about Venetian Corfu, see Eugenio Bacchion, *Il dominio veneto su Corfù, 1386–1797* (Venice: Altino, 1956), 19–33, Massimo Costantini, "Le isole ionie nel sistema marittimo veneziano," in *Venezia e le Isole Ionie*, ed. Chryssa A. Maltezou (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2005), 141–65, Giorgio Ravegnani, "La conquista veneziana di Corfù," in *Venezia e le Isole Ionie*, ed. Chryssa A. Maltezou (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2005), 101–12, and Thiriet, *Romanie vénétienne*, 399–403.

⁵⁹ The cases of Corfu, incorporated in 1388, and Thessaloniki (Salonica), where Venice confirmed the existing legal system in 1425, are cited. Arbel, "Colonie d'oltremare," 952.

Further detail thereto – on the basis of Zadar – is given below.

⁶⁰ Michael Knapton, "Il fisco nello stato veneziano tra '300 e '500: la politica delle entrate," in *Il sistema fiscale veneto: Problemi e aspetti, XV–XVIII secolo*, ed. Giorgio Borelli (Verona: Libreria Universitaria Editrice, 1982), 23 (15–57).

demarcating the two entities into possessions north–west and south–east of Istria.⁶¹ While there were local and/or regional differences, the basic principles of government applied throughout the entire dependent possessions. Within the Venetian government apparatus, the increase in territories resulted in the enlargement of existing offices or the creation of new ones to go along with the economic, fiscal, and legal developments. As the power of the ruling aristocratic merchant elite of Venice became more and more confined to a small number of wealthy and politically influential families over the course of the fifteenth century, the need for public offices for the impoverished patricians increased. The newly–acquired territories, in combination with the enlargement of government bureaucracy, provided the Venetian state with the opportunity to employ its less endowed patricians.⁶²

The entire system of the *Stato da mar* consisted of various sub–regions, these being the two large islands of Crete and Cyprus, the Aegean and Morean dominions, the Ionian possessions, and the Adriatic components, Albania and Dalmatia. All these entities were bound to Venice with a number of uniting factors. Defence against the Ottoman Empire, integration of the local legal institutions and nobility into the Venetian overseas administration and economy, and the role and functions of the Church.

The by far gravest threat facing the different parts of Venice’s overseas possessions after the fourteenth century was the Ottoman Empire. This menace is evident in almost every single report and dispatch sent to the lagoon by Venetian administrators. It is worth noting that

⁶¹ As Benjamin Arbel and Gaetano Cozzi noted, the Kvarner Gulf was the geographical border between Italy – which then also comprised Istria. The title *rector/rettore/conte* (rector/count) was used in Dalmatia and in Pula (Pola), in the rest of Istria and Venice’s possessions on the mainland, the title of the Venetian officials was *podestà* to better adhere to medieval institutions. This distinction was formally introduced in 1440, and coincided more or less with the above–mentioned usage of the titles of the Venetian governors. Arbel, “*Colonie d’oltremare*,” 954, and Cozzi, *Ambiente veneziano*, 302.

For complementary reasons, it may be interesting to point out that Monique O’Connell, in her study about communication in the Venetian *Stato da mar* argues that these officials were “at the center of a three–way negotiation between the Venetian state and its imperial subjects” who happened to be referred to as “*rettori*”. While this may have been the case, it is worth pointing out that this suggestion does not address the issue from a legal point of view, thus it may be omitted in the above–mentioned discussion. O’Connell, *Men of Empire*, 2.

⁶² Around 1500, a wide range of new offices in the public administration were created, in part to alleviate the fortunes of the impoverished patricians, further securing the oligarchic reign of the powers that be in Venice and to prevent disillusioned patricians from becoming too rebellious. Doumerc, “*Dominio del mare*,” 167–68.

Stanley Chojnacki speaks of a “third *serrata*” (emphasis in the original), starting in 1506, when the Council of Ten introduced new regulations about the attendance of – of all places – dinner parties. For these so–called *compagnie della calza*, exclusive dinner parties for wealthy young nobles, see Stanley Chojnacki, “Identity and ideology in Renaissance Venice: The Third *Serrata*,” in *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City–State, 1297–1797*, ed. Dennis Romano and John Martin (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 2000), 263–94, as well as O’Connell, *Men of Empire*, 57–74.

For information about the poorer nobles’ dependence on government offices, see Queller, *Venetian Patriciate*, 51–112, and Gaetano Cozzi, “Authority and the Law in Renaissance Venice,” in *Renaissance Venice*, ed. John R. Hale (London: Faber & Faber, 1973), 325–27 (293–345).

these relazioni (directives, reports) describe almost exclusively external threats. The defence of any given possession may be divided into two categories, the first being the occasional raids by bandits, pirates, and/or corsairs.⁶³ The main protection against them were watch posts along the coasts to alarm the navy to fend off potential attackers.⁶⁴ Many places under Venetian control had to muster one or more war galleys, however, the main defence forces against raids was light cavalry. These so-called stradioti or stratiotti, from the fourteenth century onwards recruited among Albanians and Greeks, often integrated themselves into the respective territories they were defending.⁶⁵

The second, of much greater potential impact was the possibility of an all-out conflict with the Ottoman Empire. Fearing situations analogous to the temporary territorial losses in the Terraferma during the War of the League of Cambrai, the Venetians invested vast amounts of money, matériel, and personnel into gigantic fortification efforts throughout their possessions abroad.⁶⁶ For instance, between January 1568 and July 1569, Zadar's administration alone received 27,000 ducats to be invested in the strengthening of the city's defences.⁶⁷ These fortifications were larger than before in order to accommodate also large parts of the hinterlands's population in the event of emergency.⁶⁸ Manned usually by the local militia⁶⁹, in times

⁶³ This problem, while wide-spread throughout the entire Mediterranean, was of particular graveness especially in the Aegean and Adriatic Seas. And not all pirates/corsairs were Muslims, as the example of Senj's (Segna) Uskoks (Uscocchi) clearly demonstrates. Furthermore, there were people from all over the Eastern Mediterranean ('Levantine'), other Italians, and Aragonese, just to name a few. Arbel, "Colonie d'oltremare," 966.

For more details as regards the Uskoks, see also Catherine Bracewell, *The Uskoks of Senj: Piracy, Banditry, and Holy War in the 16th-century Adriatic* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1992), but see also Fine, *When Ethnicity did not matter*, 216–8, as well as Alberto Tenenti, "I corsari in Mediterraneo all'inizio del Cinquecento," *Rivista Storica Italiana* 72 (1960): 234–87, and Günther E. Rothenburg, "Venice and the Uskoks of Senj, 1537–1618," *Journal of Modern History* 33, no. 2 (1961): 148–56.

⁶⁴ Lane, *Maritime Republic*, 368.

⁶⁵ Mallett and Hale, *Military Organization*, 73–4, 376–77, 447–51.

⁶⁶ The major centres in Crete – Chania, Souda (Suda) –, Corfu, and the Dalmatian towns of Šibenik (Sebenico) and Zadar were all engaged in huge construction efforts over the late 15th and 16th centuries. In general, see Mallett and Hale, *Military Organization*, 430–47, and Antonio Manno, "Politica e architettura militare: Le difese di Venezia (1557–1573)," *Studi Veneziani* 11 (1986): 91–137.

For the Ionian islands see Bacchion, *Corfu*, 85–95, as regards Dalmatia, follow Praga, *Storia di Dalmazia*, 164–5. As far as the Adriatic fortresses in present-day Croatia concerned, see Andrej Žmegač, *Bastioni jadranske Hrvatske* [Fortifications of the Croatian Adriatic] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2009), 29–71, and Andrej Žmegač, "Venezianische Festungen an der ostadriatischen Küste," in *Türkenangst und Festungsbau: Wirklichkeit und Mythos*, ed. Harald Heppner and Zsuzsa Barbarics-Hermanik (Frankfurt am Main: Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften, 2009), 129–42.

Details about Zadar and its fortifications can be obtained in Marina Mocellin, "La città fortificata di Zara dal XV al XVI sec.," *Atti e Memorie* 15, no. 4 (1992): 63 (9–68), as well as Žmegač, *Bastioni*, 189–90.

⁶⁷ These included also investments into cisterns, ammunition, powder, and various other supplies. Mocellin, "Città fortificata," 63.

⁶⁸ Praga, *Storia di Dalmazia*, 158–9.

⁶⁹ As in the Terraferma, the militia consisted of farmers armed by Venice and on whose loyalty the Serenissima could count, and did also participate in various military operations. In many cases, local nobles – as will be shown was also the case in Zadar – commanded these units. Mallett and Hale, *Military Organization*, 456–8.

of war the Venetian possessions were reinforced with contingents of Italian mercenaries which constituted an additional financial burden on the respective cities.⁷⁰ In addition, the Venetian galleys were often manned with sailors and oarsmen, the so-called *galeotti*, oarsmen of Albanian, Dalmatian, and/or Greek origin, the latter being considered the best sailors.⁷¹

In addition to these factors, the importance of the *Stato da mar* for Venice and the rest of Christendom was augmented by the information about the Ottoman Empire and its advances. At the first sign of mobilisation and/or movement of the Sultan's armies or fleets, the merchants and administrative officials sent word to Venice. Usually, these news originated around February, and once the information network started working, the Signoria in the Doge's Palace soon found itself immersed in vast amounts of news, true or false.⁷²

In religious matters the Republic of St Mark employed a policy of relative freedom, caused by the fact that the majority of the subjects in her maritime state was not Catholic.⁷³ In the Adriatic coastal towns, the upper social strata was heavily influenced by Italian culture and Catholicism, in the lower strata, and the population of the hinterlands Albanian and/or Slavic culture prevailed.⁷⁴ By far the most numerous group were the Greeks, though their clergy was subject to the Catholic Church.⁷⁵ And while relative religious freedom was exercised, sometimes the Venetian government had to intervene to prevent the Catholic clergy from too much

⁷⁰ Arbel, "Colonie d'oltremare," 967–8.

⁷¹ Over the course of the 16th century, Venice, while still at least partially relying on paid freemen, resorted increasingly to pressgang slaves and/or convicts as oarsmen. The conscription of freemen (*uomini da fatto*, able-bodied men), prone to desertion upon advance payment for their service, was increasingly avoided after 1550, giving rise of convict galleys. By the time of the Cyprus War, Venice's resources and manpower was strained to the limit, little wonder given the fact that about half of the allied fleet consisted of Venetian vessels, most of which were manned with men from the overseas dominions and/or convicts. Lane, *Maritime Republic*, 364–74.

⁷² Arbel, "Colonie d'oltremare," 969–70.

⁷³ In general, see Paolo Prodi, "Structure and Organization of the Church in Renaissance Venice," in *Renaissance Venice*, ed. John R. Hale (London: Faber & Faber, 1973), 409–30, as well as Franjo Šanjek, "The Church and Christianity," in *Croatia in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance: A Cultural Survey*, ed. Ivan Supićić (London: Wilson, 2008), 227–258.

⁷⁴ Follow the report of Johannes Baptista Justinian and Antonius Diedo, the Senate's legates in Albania and Dalmatia, dated 15 April, 1553, in Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 191 (Koper/Capodistria), 197 (Zadar/Zara), 204–5 (Šibenik/Sebenico), 208 (Trogir/Traù), and 215 (Split/Spalato), 227 (Ulcinj/Dulcigno), 231 (Bar/Antibari/Antivari).

See also Ivan Pederin, "Die venezianische Verwaltung Dalmatiens und ihre Organe (XV. und XVI. Jh.)," *Studi veneziani* 12 (1987): 104–5, 125 (99–164).

⁷⁵ Thus making the Venetian dominions with predominant Greek population probably to the only territories in which the attempted re-unification of Latin and Greek Christendom according to the Council of Florence (1439) was put into effect. Thiriet, *Romanie vénétienne*, 287–91, 403–5, 429–35.

religious zealotry.⁷⁶ Nonetheless, the Latin (arch-) bishoprics were reserved for Venetian patricians only, a policy in effect in the entire *Stato da mar*.⁷⁷

1.3. *The Economy of the Stato da mar*

Over the course of the fourteenth century, Venice's maritime commerce became, to paraphrase Fernand Braudel, the first "world economy".⁷⁸ The major advantages of the *Serenissima* – as opposed to its Genoese rivals – was her much more coherent (domestic) society. Civil unrest and factional strife in the contest for internal supremacy describe, more or less, the Genoese maritime republic during the High and Late Middle Ages. On the contrary, such descriptions are much rarer in the Venetian context. In addition, the Republic of St Mark did also provide one more decisive commercial service, a reliable state-run convoy system.⁷⁹ These so-called *mude* had fixed dates assigned to their ports of call and sailed to the most im-

⁷⁶ For example, the Council of Ten prohibited the obligatory proclamation of the findings of the Council of Trent as mandated by the archbishop of Cyprus, Filippo Mocenigo (in office from 1560–1571). Arbel, "Colonie d'oltremare," 976.

⁷⁷ Arbel, "Colonie d'oltremare," 975, and Pederin, "Venezianisches Handelssystem," 143.

For the implementation of this policy in Cyprus after the late 1480s, see Hill, *Cyprus: The Frankish Period*, 873.

⁷⁸ This Braudelian term is not only to be found in Doumerc, "Dominio del mare," 113, but also in Marc Ferro's global history of colonialism. The latter wrote about Genoese and Venetian expansion and their presiding over the first micro world-economy, its boundaries were defined as Lisbon, Fez, Damascus, Azov and the Hanseatic city of Bruges. Marc Ferro comments: "It was like a Portuguese empire before its time, but confined to the interior of the Mediterranean." The main structural difference between the two maritime republics and Portugal, according to Marc Ferro, was the latter's landed nobility ability to supply the necessary cadres for the exploitation of overseas territories. Neither Genoa nor Venice disposed of a nobility to provide such services. Ferro, *Colonization*, 52–53.

Furthermore, though the Italian contribution to the large Iberian colonial enterprises during the 15th and 16th centuries are noted. However, after their initial successes, Dutch, English and French colonisers did not need the Italian help anymore. Merril Jensen and Robert L. Reynolds, "European Colonial Experience: A Plea for Comparative Studies," in *The Medieval Frontiers of Latin Christendom: Expansion, Contraction, Continuity*, ed. James Muldoon and Felipe Fernández-Armesto (Farnham: Ashgate Variorum, 2008), 39 (37–52).

The author wishes to highlight two more points concerning this latter article, first this is a reprint of an article first published in *Studi in onore di Gino Luzzatto*, vol. 4, ed. Gino Luzzatto (Milan: Giuffrè, 1950), 75–90, and, second, for further information about Genoese medieval colonisation (in addition to the works referenced above), see Robert S. Lopez and Michel Balard, eds. *Storia delle colonie genovesi nel Mediterraneo* (Genoa: Marietti, 1996), complete with updated bibliography.

⁷⁹ The Venetian harbours along the sea routes of these convoys also provided the framework for the economic integration of the *Stato da mar* into the Venetian economic system. Once a ship had left the lagoon, it spent more time in Venetian-controlled ports than on open sea unless its call in Corfu. Elena Fasano Guarini, "Au seizième siècle: Comment naviguaient les galères," *Annales E.S.C.* 16 (1961): 295–6 (279–296).

portant harbours in both the Eastern and Western Mediterranean, eventually reaching Flanders and southern England.⁸⁰

The Venetian merchant marine and innovations over the course of the fifteenth century enabled the Serenissima to earn most of its wealth via maritime commerce. As for the ships per se, in both cogs and galleys the sizes and cargo volumes steadily increased over the course of the fifteenth century. Medium-sized vessels were usually employed in regional transportation, while permanent improvements to the state-owned merchant marine were made, too.⁸¹ Given the extension of Venetian long-distance trading network, the connections between her imperial enterprise and her political ambitions in the Eastern Mediterranean are evident. In addition, a good number of ports of call were Venetian-owned harbours along the main trading routes. These places supplied vital matériel and supplemental food to the sailors. And, in some dominions, for instance Crete, Cyprus, Zakynthos (Jacinto/Zante), and Zadar, served as homeports for a number of local seafarers, too, who constituted also a readily available reserve pool of experienced sailors eligible for conscription in wartime.⁸²

⁸⁰ For a broad overview during the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century, see Doumerc, "Dominio del mare," 113–80, and, in general, Luzzatto, *Storia economica di Venezia*.

For details about shipbuilding and its products, see Frederic C. Lane, *Navires et constructeurs à Venise pendant la Renaissance* (Paris: S.E.P.V.E.N., 1965).

For information about her establishments abroad and their relation to Venice's commercial interests, see, inter alia, Cozzi, *Venezia e stati italiani*, 191–2, Reinhold C. Mueller, "L'imperialismo monetario veneziano nel Quattrocento," *Società e Storia* 8 (1980): 277–97, Thiriet, *Romanie vénétienne*, 303–49, Valentini, "Stabilimenti veneti in Albania," 242–4, as well as Georg Christ, "Konflikte am Schnittpunkt von Orient und Okzident: Der venezianische Konsul Biagio Dolfin in Alexandria 1418–1420" (PhD diss., Univ. of Basel, 2006).

For the ports of call in the 14th and 15th century, see Jules Sottas, *Les messageries maritimes de Venise aux XIVe et XVe siècles* (Paris: Société d'Éditions, 1938), 209–32, a recent study about the system of incanto pertaining to the state-owned galley trade is Doris Stöckly, *Le système de l'Incanto des galées du marché à Venise: Fin XIIIe – milieu XVe siècle* (Leiden: Brill, 1995).

⁸¹ Usually, these medium-sized ships engaged in transport from to and fro as well as end-point delivery. Many privately-owned vessels transported goods of little spectacularity like food (grain) from the Black Sea markets, cotton, and sugar from Cyprus or wine from Crete. Every now and then, these ships were rented on-site in various ports of call in order to transport goods which exceeded the cargo capacity of the galleys. Doumerc, "Dominio del mare," 117–18.

⁸² Arbel, "Colonie d'oltremare," 977, but see also Bacchion, *Corfù*, 71, and Ugo Tucci, "Sur la pratique vénétienne de la navigation au XVIe siècle," *Annales E.S.C.* 13 (1958): 72–86.

Venice's means of manning its naval vessels were strained to their limits by the time of the War of Cyprus, as the battle of Lepanto marked the Venetian climax in relation to its means. As Frederic Lane argues, Venice's potential had been doubled by its alliance with other powers, however, its population base remained limited, thus, over the course of the 16th century, the Serenissima started to pressgang prisoners of war, slaves, and other convicts for galley service. Of the total number of Venetian ships fighting at Lepanto 38 were manned with oarsmen from mainland Italy or the overseas dominions, however, about half of that number (16) employed convicts of all types. One of the reasons for this development was the possibility to substitute oneself with another person. However, since in most cases at least a partial advance payment had to be made, this was often followed by desertions thus prompting increased use of convicts and/or press-ganged crews. Lane, *Maritime Republic*, 367–74. However, in the decades leading up to the Battle of Lepanto, this manpower reserve had already decreased over some time, further bleeding the Stato da mar all but dry. Alberto Tenenti, *Christoforo da Canal: La marine vénétienne avant Lépante* (Paris: S.E.P.V.E.N., 1962), 76.

One of the cornerstones of Venetian wealth was the salt trade, already monopolised by the state since the Middle Ages. Contributing significantly to the Serenissima's opulence during the imperial age of Venice, especially the expansion in mainland Italy augmented her incomes over the course of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.⁸³ Financially speaking, Venice aimed for her possessions to be financially self-sustaining. If excess income was available, at times it was sent to another possession as a means of subsidy.⁸⁴

The main protagonists of Venetian commerce was her merchant aristocracy, in whose hands the organisation of the most lucrative trading ventures was concentrated. Usually, the state-owned galleys were put up for rent, once the auction was concluded, the highest bidder became the patron, able to choose his merchant companions, forming what Bernard Doumerc called a "holding" together with his closest (family) allies.⁸⁵ A development of the late fifteenth and first decades of the sixteenth century, though, was the aggregation of Venice's wealth, mercantile capital, and power in the hands of a few families, de facto leading to an increasing monopolisation of maritime trade – which once used to be a more broad-based (aristocratic) enterprise.⁸⁶

After the middle of the fifteenth century, however, at the height of the Venetian convoy system, the aristocratic merchant elite failed to adapt to changing circumstances. The multiple wars and conflicts in which the Serenissima engaged in the second half of the century, con-

⁸³ As, for instance, demonstrated by Jean-Claude Hocquet, Venice's revenues from the monopolised salt trade out of Cyprus amounted to almost 160,000 ducats in 1521/22. Hocquet, *Le Sel*, vol. 2, 387.

Furthermore, a good part of the Adriatic salt was sold to the Ottoman subjects of the Dalmatian hinterlands who, in turn, sold their agricultural products and/or livestock to the city dwellers. The profits of the saline, though, were partially shared with the Ottoman officials close by. Hocquet, *Le Sel*, vol. 1, 318–21.

See also the report by Johannes Baptista Justinian and Antonius Diedo written in 1553, Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 205–06.

⁸⁴ Examples thereof are Nafplion's excess revenues in 1413, transferred to Crete or Cres (Cherso) and Osor (Aussero/Ossero) subsidising Zadar in 1553. For the former, see Arbel, "Colonie d'oltremare," 978, for the latter see the report by Johannes Baptista Justinian and Antonius Diedo. Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 197.

In addition, from 1381 to 1571, Venice profited immensely from her overseas possessions: They were secure ports of calls and trading posts and a reservoir of constant revenues. In addition, its populace contributed also significantly to the Venetian war efforts. And, as Benjamin Arbel continues to argue, the immense amounts of money offered to the Ottomans after the losses of Euboea (Negroponte) and Cyprus – 250,000 ducats for the former, an annual tribute of 100,000 ducats for the latter – testifying to the economic importance of the empire as well as Venice's capabilities to spend such large amounts. Arbel, "Colonie d'oltremare," 978–79.

⁸⁵ For the reference, see Doumerc, "Dominio del mare," 151 (113–80).

One of the main features of this family-based merchant company or society is the legal system named *fraterna*. It describes an economic unit based upon kinship ties comprising (at least) two brothers who were full legal partners, even without pre-established notarial paperwork. This led to the possibility of one family and its allies acquiring a majority of the freight spaces, thus effectively taking over the control over an entire merchant vessel. See Frederic C. Lane, "Family Partnerships and Joint Ventures," in *Venice and History: The collected papers of Frederic C. Lane*, ed. Frederic C. Lane (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1966), 36–55, as well as Stanley Chojnacki, "Kinship Ties and Young Patricians in Fifteenth-Century Venice," *Renaissance Quarterly* 38 (1985): 242 (240–70).

⁸⁶ Doumerc, "Dominio del mare," 153–54.

tributed to the decline in Venetian mercantile shipping, both private and public. Even the re-organisation of the Arsenal in the first decades of the sixteenth century could not prevent the ultimate decline of Venetian shipping due to the shift of commerce from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic.⁸⁷ Around 1500, the time of the Venetian patricians acting on behalf of their commercial interests as a more or less unified body, had definitely passed. As Ugo Tucci succinctly put it, “[the] personal interests of the merchant no longer coincided with the public good.”⁸⁸

By then, consequently, the state-run convoy system as well as Venetian society faced new realities. Despite setbacks, defeats, and humiliations suffered at the hands of her enemies, Venice did not fall and, around the middle of the sixteenth century, was still a formidable naval power. Her economy, however, had changed by then. No longer did maritime trade dominated her fortunes, but luxury goods and her mainland possessions became increasingly important economic and political factors. The Mediterranean was no longer the prime source of Venice’s wealth, and Doge Girolamo Priuli even wrote of the “flight from the sea.”⁸⁹

Despite all conflicts and problems facing the Serenissima during the fifteenth century, her domestic cohesion did not falter. Not even during Venice’s darkest hours after their defeat at Agnadello (1509) during the war of the League of Cambrai did the Venetians give themselves up. However, once these conflicts were resolved, the Republic of St Mark did not continue to address the manifold changes in its environs, even though the crises of the past century were mastered by continuous innovations and new approaches. Thus, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the common objective of securing the Republic’s triumph had perished and the

⁸⁷ For a good overview about the more technical aspects of galley construction around the mid-16th century, see Ulrich Alertz, *Vom Schiffsbauhandwerk zur Schiffsbau-technik: Die Entwicklung neuer Entwurfs- und Konstruktionsmethoden im italienischen Galeerenbau, 1400–1700* (Hamburg: Kovač, 1991), 190–200.

⁸⁸ Ugo Tucci, *Mercanti, navi, monete nel Cinquecento Veneziano* (Bologna: Mulino, 1981), 58.

⁸⁹ For example, the idea of brothers living together under the same roof not needing notarial confirmation of themselves being business partners changed over the course of the 15th century. As early as 1423, Nicolò Malipiero declared himself to be partner with his brother, Bartolomeo, and had a notary authenticate the existence of this fraterna in writing. Doumerc, “Dominio del mare,” 171.

For the reference to “la fuga dal mare,” see Girolamo Priuli, *I diarii di Girolamo Priuli*, vol. 1, ed. Arturo Segre (Città di Castello: Lapi 1912–1921), 50.

In addition, an abundance of reports about the increasingly dysfunctional long-distance trading network started to appear from around 1500, however, the consequences were proposals to exclude the merchants from the councils of government. During the 1440s, writes Bernard Doumerc, there were usually more than a dozen investors per merchant galley. Around one hundred years later, from the 1520s onwards, though, many galleys were in the hands of one or another investor. The Senate found itself in almost the same position as at the beginning of the 15th century when the convoy system was reformed in order to battle increasingly monopolistic tendencies by few wealthy families. Doumerc, “Dominio del mare,” 173–5.

For the contemporary account of Domenico Morosini, see Gaetano Cozzi, “Domenico Morosini e il ‘De bene instituta re publica’,” *Studi Veneziani* 12 (1970): 405–58.

spirit of national unity and co-operation had been compromised. Furthermore, excessive bureaucracy⁹⁰, abuse of power, and a variety of technical and economical problems changed the Venetian merchant marine between 1490 and 1540, leading to the increasing marginalisation of her trading empire over the course of the sixteenth century.⁹¹

⁹⁰ Around 1500, a wide range of new offices in the public administration were created, in part to alleviate the fortunes of the impoverished patricians, further securing the oligarchic reign of the powers that be in Venice and to prevent disillusioned patricians from becoming too rebellious. Doumerc, “Dominio del mare,” 167–68. For then–newly instituted government offices and the strategies employed by the patricians to obtain these public offices, see Cozzi, “Authority and the Law,” 325–27, Chojnacki, “Third *Serrata*,” 263–94, O’Connell, *Men of Empire*, 57–74, and Queller, *Venetian Patriciate*, 51–112.

For more information about festivities used to arrange for the appointment to public offices, see Maria T. Murano, “La festa Veneziana e le sue manifestazioni rappresentative: Le compagnie della calza e le momarie,” in *Storia della cultura veneta*, vol. 3, ed. Gianfranco Folena and Girolamo Arnaldi (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1980), 315–41, and Edward W. Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1981), 167–72.

On banquets and electioneering, see Robert Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice* (New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1980), 203–4.

⁹¹ Bernard Doumerc subsequently adds some more issues, for instance the geographical disadvantage of Venice itself whilst the Atlantic trading routes were shaped, and the various commercial incentives and treaties of western European realms with the Ottoman Empire. These developments, in combination with the English, French, and Ragusan competition, led to the eventual decline of Venice’s trading networks in the Levant. Doumerc, “Dominio del mare,” 178.

2. The Adriatic Context

The aftermath of the conclusion of the Chioggia War (1378 to 1381) witnessed a renewed wave of Venetian expansion into the Eastern Mediterranean. For reasons of securing the vital shipping routes along the eastern seaboard of the Adriatic, the Republic of St Mark intervened in the Hungarian succession crisis to re-establish her authority over parts of Albania and Dalmatia from the beginning of the fifteenth century onwards. The absorbed cities and the hinterlands under their jurisdiction included islands, towns, and communities from Corfu off Butrint (Butrinto) in present-day southern Albania to the islands in the Kvarner Gulf.⁹²

Despite a number of differences between all the cities along the oriental littoral of the Adriatic, their basic structures were comparable. All these towns were surrounded by territories under their nominal jurisdiction and, in many cases, were also Catholic bishoprics.⁹³ Venice incorporated these different communities into her overseas system and forged the double province Albania–Dalmatia. Its nominal capital, the city of Zadar (Zara), commanded a large hinterland, including also the subject minor jurisdictions of Nin (Nona) and Novigrad (Novigradi) as well as the fortified places of Nadin (Nadino) and Vrana (Aurana).⁹⁴ After the initial purchase of these towns, the Venetian expansion in Dalmatia progressed gradual. Split (Spalato) was absorbed in 1420, twenty years later the town of Omiš (Almissa) followed, until the

⁹² For the restored Venetian authority in Zadar, Cozzi, “Politica del diritto,” 250–61, Krekić, “Venezia e l’Adriatico,” 66–78, and Pederin, “Venezianisches Handelssystem,” 100–3.

⁹³ Arbel, “Colonie d’oltremare,” 960–1.

⁹⁴ O’Connell, *Men of Empire*, 29–30.

For further information about the Hungarian–Venetian struggle for pre-eminence in the Adriatic, see De Benvenuti (1944), 23–44 (although from a very triumphalist Italian point of view, the author), Krekić, “Venezia e l’Adriatico,” 79–82, O’Connell, *Men of Empire*, 27–30, as well as the overview in Marija Wakounig, *Dalmatien und Friaul: Die Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Sigismund von Luxemburg und der Republik Venedig um die Vorherrschaft im adriatischen Raum* (Vienna: Verband der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs, 1990).

For the Venetian concepts of space and the maritime dimension of their empire, see Alberto Tenenti, “Il senso del mare,” in *Storia di Venezia: Temi: Il mare*, ed. Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci (Rome: Enciclopedia Italiana, 1991), 7–76, and Alberto Tenenti, “The Sense of Space and Time in the Venetian World of the 15th and 16th centuries,” in *Renaissance Venice*, ed. John. R. Hale (London: Faber & Faber, 1973), 17–46.

island of Cres (Cherso) in the Kvarnerski zaljev (Golfo del Quarnero) was taken over in 1480.⁹⁵

The maritime dimension of the Venetian *Stato da mar* needs to be kept in mind all the time. The main incentive of the merchants of the Rialto was securing the vital navigation routes along the eastern coasts of the Adriatic, no particular interest in further expansion into the hinterlands existed.⁹⁶ While the re-establishment of control over parts of Albania and Dalmatia progressed without too much trouble for the Republic of St Mark, new opponents emerged from the hinterlands soon after the beginning of the fifteenth century – the Ottomans. The low-lying hinterland of Zadar enabled the Sultan's troops to frequently raid the countryside from the 1430s onwards, thus effectively impeding continuous agricultural production.⁹⁷ At the same time, the waning capabilities of Hungary–Croatia to defend the hinterlands in the Western Balkans against the Ottoman advances led to inevitable conflicts between the Most Sublime Porte and the Venetians.⁹⁸ While the main areas of operations were the Aegean and Ionian parts of the *Stato da mar*, its Adriatic components were nonetheless important, especially considering Venice's supply lines.⁹⁹

After the first Ottoman–Venetian conflict in the 1420s, Mehmed II the Conqueror renewed his efforts between 1463 and 1479, conquering parts of Albania, accompanied by attacks on Zadar, Šibenik (Sebenico), and Split in September 1468. While not immediately threatening these cities, the Republic of St Mark responded by investments in the respective

⁹⁵ Follow the introduction by Alberto Bin, *La Repubblica di Venezia e la Questione Adriatica, 1600–1620* (Rome: Veltro, 1992) 13–31, as well as Gaetano Cozzi, “Il Dominio da Mar,” in *La Repubblica di Venezia nell'età moderna: Dalla Guerra di Chioggia al 1517*, ed. Gaetano Cozzi and Michael Knapton (Turin: UTET, 1986), 198 (195–204).

See also Federico Seneca, “La penetrazione veneziana in Dalmazia,” *Atti e Memorie* 106 (1993–1994): 31–43, Jorjo Tadić, “Venezia e la costa orientale dell'Adriatico fino al secolo XV,” in *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV: Atti del I Convegno Internazionale di Storia della Civiltà Veneziana (Venezia, 1–5 giugno 1968)*, vol. 1, ed. Agostino Pertusi (Florence: Olschki, 1973), 687–704, and, more general, Marko Šunjić, *Dalmacija u XV stoljeću* [Dalmatia during the 15th century] (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1967).

⁹⁶ Tomislav Raukar, “Društvene strukture u Mletačkoj Dalmaciji [Social structures in Venetian Dalmatia],” in *Društveni razvoj u Hrvatskoj od 16. do početka 20. stoljeća* [Social developments in Croatia from the 16th to the beginning of the 20th century], ed. Mirjana Gross (Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, 1981), 103 (103–25).

⁹⁷ First incursions into Jadertine jurisdiction occurred in 1432, when the environs of Nin were raided by Ottoman troops. Sead M. Traljić, “Nin pod udarom tursko–mletačkih ratova [Nin under the blows of Turkish–Venetian wars],” in *Povijest grada Nina* [History of the town of Nin], ed. Vjekoslav Maštrović and Grga Novak (Zadar: Jugoslovenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1969), 529–532.

⁹⁸ As writes Marc'Antonio Michiel on 31 January, 1520, see Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 142.

For the hinterlands and its defences, see Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 199–206.

⁹⁹ Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 24–5.

fortifications.¹⁰⁰ The subsequent wars between Venice and the Ottoman Empire (1499 to 1503, 1537 to 1541, and 1570 to 1573) saw the latter further advance and conquering more territories.¹⁰¹ Mainly, the fighting concentrated on a number of strategic positions, previously established by the Hungarians. One of these, Klis (Clissa), annexed by the Ottoman Empire in 1537, was to be elevated to become the centre of the Klis Sandjak (Sandžak) after the Cyprus War.¹⁰² Only through her maritime power Venice was able to prevent a full-scale Ottoman assault on the coastal towns.¹⁰³

The conflicts between the Republic of St Mark and the Most Sublime Porte constituted an integral part of daily life caused by, among other things, the often ambiguous and disrespected borders.¹⁰⁴ After the Cyprus War, the 1570s saw these revised, partially even without Venetian representatives present. Since the Serenissima's main interest was keeping the sea lanes open, the urban communities and their inhabitants were the principal losers: the local nobility lost most of their incomes and the agrarian population either fled the hinterlands or was taken away to be sold as slaves.¹⁰⁵ During the 1570s the borders moved almost within shouting dis-

¹⁰⁰ Much Venetian money and efforts went into these fortifications to counter piracy, Ottoman corsairs, and the Sultan's raiding parties, however, many of them were lost to the Ottomans by the conclusion of the Cyprus War. Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 26.

For the Dalmatian fortresses and fortification efforts, see Žmegač, *Bastioni*, 29–71, Žmegač, "Venezianische Festungen," 129–42.

¹⁰¹ In the war from 1499 to 1503, the Ottomans conquered Makarska (Macarsca) and Primorje (the Istrian littoral), between 1537 and 1541, Klis (Clissa) as well as other parts of Croatia fell to the Sultan's armies. Finally, after the Cyprus War, Venice's mainland Dalmatian possessions were all but annexed to the Ottoman Empire, even Zemunik (Zemonico), today the airport of Zadar, fell to the Ottomans. Grga Novak, *Prošlost Dalmacije* [The Past of Dalmatia], vol. 1 (Split: Slobodna Dalmacija i Marjan Tisak, 2004), 168–9, and Stanojević, *Jugoslovenske zemlje*, 11–51.

As for the Albanian possessions, the Cyprus War saw the Ottomans taking control over the channel connecting the Bay of Kotor (Bocca di Cattaro) with the Venetian towns of Ulcinj (Dulcigno). Michael Knapton, "Lo Stato da Mar," in *La Repubblica di Venezia nell'età moderna: Dal 1517 alla fine della Repubblica*, ed. Gaetano Cozzi and Michael Knapton (Turin: UTET, 1992), 329 (323–83).

¹⁰² These fortresses, established between 1360 and 1460 by the Hungarians, were a frontier zone for the Bosnian possessions. Fighting about control of these places was another side effect within the larger picture of Ottoman–Venetian conflicts. Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 178.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 218–20.

¹⁰⁴ Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 26–7.

For the frontier situation along the Ottoman–Venetian borders, see Sead M. Traljić, "Tursko–mletačko susjedstvo na zadarskoj krajini XVII. stoljeća [Turkish–Venetian neighbourhood in Zadar's borderlands in the 17th century]," *Rad. JAZU–Zd.* 4–5 (1959): 418–9 (409–24).

For the events around the border demarcations in the 1540s and 1570s, see further Sead M. Traljić, "Tursko–mletačke granice u Dalmaciji u XVI. i XVII stoljeću [Turkish–Venetian borders in Dalmatia in the 16th and 17th centuries]," *Rad. JAZU–Zd.* 11–12 (1973): 451–3 (447–57), as well as Knapton, "Stato da Mar," 330.

¹⁰⁵ Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 27.

Not only people but also their livestock has been taken away, as reports indicate: In 1527 alone, the reports alleged that 7,000 persons have been enslaved by the Ottomans, let alone circa 50,000 animals in 1499. Quoted after Arbel, "Colonie d'oltremare," 960–62.

tance of the ramparts¹⁰⁶, many inhabitants of the coastal cities chose to emigrate while many members of the remaining populace moved within the fortified towns.¹⁰⁷ As far as Zadar's jurisdiction was concerned, the medieval suburbs were razed in 1570, paving the way for new massive state-of-the-art fortifications.¹⁰⁸ All these changes combined had a profound impact on the agricultural production: While on the islands off the coast livestock farming prevailed and thrived, the coastal communities on the mainland had to all but abandon their fields, canals, and vineyards, often resorting to discontinued agriculture.¹⁰⁹

The last decades of the sixteenth century saw Venice continuing her policy of neutrality, enacting legislation which sought to prevent her subjects from settling too close to the borders. Despite another round of revisions (1626), problems caused by the lack of arable land close to the cities continued. In addition, massive new forts and their garrisons had to be paid for, further straining the fiscal chambers of the coastal cities. Also, the transhumance element, so-called Morlachs (Morlacchi) and Vlachs (Vlachi), were supposed to be relocated to Istria or islands off the coast, and the sale of weapons and armaments technology to the Ottomans was forbidden.¹¹⁰ And while the Venetians had to import food, grains, water, and biscotti for the soldiers as well as hay for horses, the Ottomans were able to employ the resources of the coastal hinterlands.¹¹¹ All in all, over the sixteenth century, the *Stato da mar* became ever

¹⁰⁶ See the report of Gianbattista Michiel, former count of Zadar, filed on 27 March, 1586, who noted that in some cases the border ran only some $\frac{3}{4}$ miles from Sukošan (Porto d'Oro/San Cassiano), which in turn is circa 12 kilometres away from the city centre of Zadar. In addition, the Venetian official also mentioned the uninhabited villages in the hinterland. Ljubić and Novak, *Commissiones*, vol. 4 [= *Monumenta*, vol. 47], 370–78. As regards the devastation of the fertile hinterlands on the mainland, these were noted as early as 10 January, 1524, by Zuan Moro, former captain of Zadar, brought about by the Ottoman conquests of Oštrovica (Ostrovizza, 1523), Karin (Carino, 1524), and Obrovac (Obrovazzo, 1527). Consequently, the villages close to these places were deserted, too. Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 1, 171, Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 186–7, and Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 101.

¹⁰⁷ Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 27.

Individuals on both sides of the borders continued to farm, causing almost permanent friction between people on the other side, e.g. Ottoman subjects intruding in Venetian territory plundering, etc., causing in turn retaliatory attacks by Venetian subjects. Traljić, “Tursko–mletačko susjedstvo,” 412–8.

Another problem were the Uskoks who, by employing their cordial relations with Venetian subjects to harass Ottoman subjects. Knapton, “Stato da Mar,” 331.

Tea Mayhew also refers to similar situations in Hungary, citing that attacks without artillery and with less than 5,000 soldiers were not considered a *casus belli*. See Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 28, the reference to Hungary can be obtained in Ekkehard Eickhoff, *Venezia, Vienna e i Turchi: Bufera nel Sud–Est Europeo, 1645–1700* (Milan: Rusconi, 1991), 205.

¹⁰⁸ Mocellin, “Città fortificata,” 29–40.

¹⁰⁹ Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 367, but see also Ivna Anzulović, “Razgraničenje između mletačke i turske vlasti na zadarskom prostoru 1576. nakon Ciparskog rata [Border demarcation between the Venetian and Ottoman governments in the Jadertine environs after the Cyprus War, 1576],” *Zadarska smotra* 1–3 (1998): 101 (53–150).

¹¹⁰ Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 28.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 28–9.

more demanding in resources both human and otherwise, constituting an increasingly large burden on the coastal communities.¹¹²

2.1. Zadar and its Hinterland

The territorial entity of Zadar's jurisdiction was formally constituted by Venice after 1409, encompassed the city and its burgus, suburbs or borgo (suburban settlements), parts of the continental mainland including the fortified places of Nin (Nona) and Novigrad (Novegradi) as well as a number of islands. Around the mid-sixteenth century, despite the territorial losses sustained as a consequence of the Ottoman–Venetian war between 1537 and 1541, Zadar's jurisdiction comprised 37 islands and 85 minor villages.¹¹³ Additional territorial losses were sustained in the aftermath of the Cyprus War due to Ottoman expansion. In spite of the many changes the basic administrative structure and terminology, dating back to the Middle Ages, was preserved.¹¹⁴

As for the natural borders of the mainland possessions, these were the Adriatic, the Krka (Cherka) river basin in the south-east, and the Velebit–Dinara (Morlachia, Montagna della Morlacca)¹¹⁵ mountain ranges in the north.¹¹⁶ The geo-physical properties of the mainland hinterlands of Zadar are mostly karst, forming a plateau named Bukovica on average between 250 and 300 metres above sea level. Below the southern slopes of the Velebit massif, between the Bay of Karin and the river Krka lies the flat valley of Ravni Kotari.¹¹⁷ The coastline along the Velebitski kanal (Canale di Morlacca), composed of mostly limestone intermingled with

¹¹² Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 29, and Knapton, "Stato da Mar," 335–6, 344.

Parts of the expenses had to be financed locally, and not all possessions earned more money than they cost per year. For example, while Corfu's nobility was wealthy for geographical reasons as well as rich agricultural produce, mostly olives and raisins. Also, the salt producing communities in the Kvarner Gulf, Trogir, and Pag generated surpluses, while the balance sheets of Zadar, Šibenik, Spli, Bar, and Kotor were negative. For Corfu, see Bacchion, *Corfù*, 53–4, for the aforementioned Albanian and Dalmatian places, follow Arbel, "Colonie d'oltremare," 960, the latter's numbers are from the report by Leonardo Venier and Hieronymus Contareno on 27 October, 1525, Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 18–9.

¹¹³ Prior to the war of 1537/41, Zadar's jurisdiction was larger, comprising 280 minor villages and/or settlements. Quoted after Arbel, "Colonie d'oltremare," 960, the number is from the report by Zacharias Vallaresso, dated 10 September, 1527. Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 1, 194–223.

The numbers above are from the reports by Johannes Baptista Justinian and Antonius Diedo on 15 April, 1553, see Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 199, but see also Pederin, "Venezianisches Handelssystem," 96–101, and Pederin, "Verwaltung Dalmatiens," 117–8.

¹¹⁴ For a concise overview about these changes after the redrawing of the borders in the 1570s, follow Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 91–140.

The reader is advised, though, that the islands under Zadar's jurisdiction are not discussed in her study.

¹¹⁵ So-called after the transhumance element of Romanic origin, the Morlachs or Vlachs, later resettled in Istria. More about these people can be found Ibid., 185–226.

¹¹⁶ This paragraph is the summary of the detailed information contained Ibid., 92–6.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 92, but see also Ivan Andrović, *Po Ravnim Kotarima i kršnoj Bukovici* [Through Ravni Kotari and karst Bukovica] (Zadar: Katolička hrvatska tiskarna, 1909), 87.

karst, belonged to Zadar's jurisdiction, too.¹¹⁸ This geo-physical composition creates different forms of land use and, in combination with the availability of fresh water and fertile soil, directly impacts habitation. Terra rossa (red soil), a result of the mix of clay and sandy soil, is one of the main characteristics of Zadar's continental hinterland, which reaches its lowest point in the Bay of Nin (Nona).¹¹⁹

These two different aspects of the territory led to two rather diverse forms of agriculture: While the red soil constitutes a formidable basis for Mediterranean farming (grain, grapevines, rye), the karst areas with low shrub (*macchia*) vegetation were used as pasture by the transhumance seasonal shepherds.¹²⁰ These aspects, combined with the availability of fresh water, led to villages and settlements mostly concentrated around the fertile lands, dating back to pre-Roman times. And while many minor streams were mostly seasonal carrying water, the longer and permanent flows were used to power mills.¹²¹

The continuity of human settlements in Zadar's hinterlands dates back around 5,000 years, but the Romans were the first to systematically change the landscape.¹²² By turning the fertile areas into plantations (grapes, olives), building aqueducts, and irrigation canals, the Romans further developed the already existing villages.¹²³ The roads built in Antiquity were still used during the medieval and early modern era, accompanied by the re-settling of ancient hamlets during the Middle Ages.¹²⁴ This medieval renewal of Roman traditions, castles, roads, and

¹¹⁸ Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 92.

¹¹⁹ Many toponyms refer to geographical aspects of the region, for instance, Nadinski Blato (Nadin bog), Vransko jezero (Vrana Lake), Bokanjačko Blato (Bokanjac Bog). Ibid., 92–3.

¹²⁰ The former regions with their fertile soil around Nin, Posedarje, Karin, and Novigrad were of constant attraction for immigration, the latter karst areas attracted the Morlachs and Vlachs. Ibid., 93.

The Ravni Kotari area was re-established as a rich agricultural region during the 20th century but, as also noted by Tea Mayhew in a footnote, the war in former Yugoslavia between 1991 and 1995 had, unfortunately, the very same effect as the wars in previous centuries. Quoted after footnote 25, Ibid., 96.

This seasonal migration by shepherds dates back to pre-Roman times and describe movements of herdsmen communities from the pasturelands in the low-lying Kotari (in Winter) to the high slopes of the Velebit massif (in Summer). Marko Šarić, "The Turkish wars and the changing realities of the Lika and Krbava ecosystems (15th and 16th centuries)," in *Triplex Confinium: Ekohistorija: Radova s međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa održanog od 3. do 7. svibnja 2000. u Zadru* [Triplex Confinium: Ecohistory: Proceedings of the international conference held in Zadar, 3–7 May, 2000], ed. Drago Roksandić (Split: Književni krug, 2003), 248 (241–51).

¹²¹ As Mate Suić noted, the archeological evidence suggests that many places were inhabited even before the Roman era. Suić, *Zadar u starom vijeku*, 18.

However, despite the long-lasting settlement, discontinuation of habitation caused by the almost constant conflicts from the 15th century onwards amounted to all but the total destruction of the cultural landscape. Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 94.

¹²² Grga Novak even writes of remains of the Hallstatt culture in the vicinity of Nin and Bokoanjac. Novak, *Prošlost Dalmacije* (1944), vol. 1, 27–9, 37.

For the Roman cultivation, see Mate Suić, *Antički grad na istočnom Jadranu* [The ancient town on the eastern coast of the Adriatic] (Zagreb: Golden Marketing, 2003), 95.

¹²³ Suić, *Zadar u starom vijeku*, 38–9, 62–5.

¹²⁴ Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 97–8.

villas was centred around the Catholic bishoprics of Nin (Nona), Skradin (Scardona), and Zadar.¹²⁵ After the Venetian regained control over the area, a first cadastre was compiled in 1420, describing and slightly enlarging the jurisdiction.¹²⁶ By the sixteenth century, the districts of Nin (Nona), Novigrad (Novegradi), and Vrana (Aueana) were subject to Zadar's jurisdiction.¹²⁷

In 1432, Ottoman expansion reached the periphery of the Venetian possessions in Dalmatia for the first time.¹²⁸ With the subsequent war between the two empires (1463 to 1479), the former's raiding parties continuously pressured the coastal communities.¹²⁹ First incursions by the Sultan's subjects were temporal, thus migration to the islands off Dalmatia's coast were not permanent.¹³⁰ In the long run, continued Ottoman-induced insecurity caused large numbers of people to flee the hinterlands, negatively affecting the maintenance of irrigation systems and roads. These events, in turn, meant that the inhabitants of entire villages emigrated, forced into slavery, and/or killed, their livestock to be led away, rendering entire areas virtually abandoned.¹³¹ Consequently, some places were abandoned, while others – Nadin

¹²⁵ For the local centres of Biograd na moru (Zaravecchia), Karin, and Nadin (Nadino), follow Novak, *Prošlost Dalmacije* (2004), vol. 1, 93–4, for the re-settling during the Middle Ages and the continuation of Roman traditions, see Ivo Goldstein, “Županije u ranom srednjem vijeku u Hrvatskoj [Counties in Early Medieval Croatia],” in *Hrvatske županije kroz stoljeća* [The Croatian counties through the centuries], ed. Ivo Goldstein (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1996), 16–7 (12–20), and Suić, *Zadar u starom vijeku*, 54.

¹²⁶ Some of the villages mentioned in the cadastre were subsequently incorporated into the Jadertine jurisdiction, for instance, as happened to the district of Vrana (Aureana). Stjepan Antoljak, “Zadarski katastik 15. stoljeća [Zadar's cadastre from the 15th century],” *Starine* 40 (1950): 391 (371–417).

The land use around these hamlets consisted mainly of farming, grape plantations/vineyards, and pasture (on karst). Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 49.

A second cadastre was created in 1609 for Nin and its environs with no apparent changes, as noted by Tea Mayhew. However, the Cyprus War and the redrawing of the borders in 1574/76 as well as the consequences of the Ottoman refusal to return parts of the lands as stipulated in the peace treaty, thus forcing the second cadastre to adapt to the new situation. Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 126–7.

For further information, see Mirela Slukan Altić, “Povijest mletačkog katastra Dalmacije [History of the Venetian cadastre of Dalmatia],” *Arhivski vijesnik* 43 (2000): 175–6 (171–98).

¹²⁷ Apart from the villages comprising the districts of Novigrad and Vrana, Tea Mayhew also points out that horse-keepers are mentioned in the cadastre, suggesting the pasturelands were large enough to support horse-rearing in this area during the 15th century. Some of these pasturelands were rented to Morlachs and Vlachs, further suggesting distinction as a separate economic group. For the cadastre, see Antoljak, “Zadarski katastik,” 391, for the references to the districts, Morlachs, and the villages, see Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 99–100.

¹²⁸ Traljić, “Nin pod udarom,” 529–532.

¹²⁹ Soon after the Ottomans first attacked Bosnia in 1463, they began their incursions into the coastal areas. From 1468 onwards, these raids were part of daily life along the borders. Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 67–70.

¹³⁰ Ivna Anzulović, “O opstojnosti hrvatskog pučanstva sjeverne Dalmacije iz predturskog vremena [On the survival of the Croat people of northern Dalmatia in pre-Turkish times],” *Zadarska smotra* 4–6 (1998): 270 (269–313).

¹³¹ Entire hamlets, settlements, and villages were deserted following the Ottoman conquests of Oštrovica (Ostrovizza, 1523), Karin (Carino, 1524), and Obrovac (Obrovazzo, 1527). See Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 186–7, and the information given above.

These abandonments reached their climax in the 17th century. Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 101, as well as Knapton, “Stato da Mar,” 356–7.

(Nadino), Novigrad (Novegradi), Tinj (Tino), Vrana (Aurana), Zemunik (Zemonico) – were reinforced, thus changing the (sub-) urban landscape in its surroundings.¹³² While some towns were deserted by the beginning of the sixteenth century, most of these places were quickly repopulated.¹³³

The Ottoman–Venetian war from 1537 to 1541 saw the former capture Nadin and Vrana, causing some inhabitants to emigrate, some to remain where they were, and some to stay to live under the Sultan's rule.¹³⁴ Nevertheless, continued agriculture was rendered impossible and this did not change with the end of Ottoman expansion with the Cyprus War (1570 to 1573) and its aftermath. While the former saw the demolishing of the suburban dwellings to make way for new fortifications, ramparts, and defensive structures, the years following the conclusion of the fighting were critical, too.¹³⁵ After the borders were demarcated in 1576, only those settlements close by guard towers and/or fortified places were still populated. And those who still engaged in agriculture did so within a couple of hundreds of metres of Zadar itself, in turn causing additional serious problems like soil degradation and erosion.¹³⁶

2.2. Territorial Overview

Venetian administrative policy was to adapt and amend the already existing administrative and legal institutions of a newly acquired territory. As this was the case in both mainland Italy as well as in Dalmatia¹³⁷, the latter situation was further complicated by the organisation of the coastal communities dating back to Byzantine times.¹³⁸ These medieval subdivisions of

¹³² Some local nobles built fortifications and/or towers, partially with the active encouragement of the Venetian government, as did the Pechiaro (Pekarić) family in Poličnik or the Venier in Zemunik. Given the necessity to protect the hinterlands, some town adopted a military frontier-style appearance, which was actively supported by the Venetians in the 17th and 18th centuries. Anzulović, “O opstojnosti hrvatskog pučanstva,” 271, Knapton, “Stato da Mar,” 332–5, and Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 102–3.

¹³³ Nikola Jakšić, *Hrvatski srednjovjekovni krajobrazi* [Croatian Medieval Landscapes] (Split: Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, 2000), 202–3, and Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 235, 372.

¹³⁴ For instance, some inhabitants of Tršćani (Tersciani), Praskvić (Prasquich), and Čerinci (Cerinzzi) moved to Novigrad (Novegradi). Anzulović, “O opstojnosti hrvatskog pučanstva,” 305.

For those who stayed behind, Jakšić, *Hrvatski srednjovjekovni krajobrazi*, 206–7.

Those who either moved their village – as was the case in Ražanac (Rassanze) – or remained in their villages because they could be defended – e.g. Ljubač (Gliuba), Posedarje (Possedaria), Radovin (Radovin) – made up the last category. Anzulović, “O opstojnosti hrvatskog pučanstva,” 297, Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 367.

¹³⁵ Mocellin, “Città fortificata,” 29–40.

¹³⁶ Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 379–80.

As noted by Tea Mayhew, the post-1576 outposts included St Michael near Preko (Oltre), the fortress on the island of Pag (Pago), and the islet of Vir (Puntadura). The islands of Pag was the refuge for the people settling close to Novigrad, Vir served as rescue point for the inhabitants of Nin. Therefore and for the events after the 1570s, follow Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 105–10, for the expansion of the Venetian dominion in Zadar's hinterlands after the Candian War, the reader is referred to Ibid., 111–40.

¹³⁷ Cozzi, *Ambiente veneziano*, 292.

¹³⁸ Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 142.

Zadar's jurisdiction could be summed up in the following three larger entities: the central and north-eastern parts belonged to the county of Luka, the area stretching from Biograd na moru (Zaravecchia) all the way south-eastwards towards Šibenik (Sebenico) may be called Sidraga, and the territory subject to Nin.¹³⁹

After 1409, the Venetians opted to keep the medieval divisions of the hinterlands, mainly focusing on amending those parts of the legal systems of importance to their authority.¹⁴⁰ The main changes concerned the districts of Ljubač, Novigrad, and Vrana (present-day Sidraga county), which were subjected to the over-all jurisdiction of Zadar (which by then already included Nin). The respective territories were considered state property under the control of the Jadertine camera fiscalis (fiscal chamber) and subsequently rented to the highest bidder via a process known as incantum/incanto (public auctions).¹⁴¹ The border with the Hungarian–Croatian Kingdom was marked by a range of fortified places, mostly belonging to Croat noblemen. And despite the constant Ottoman threat, no dedicated frontier zone was established during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹⁴²

All the territories in the hinterlands (as well as the islands) were subject to the supreme authority of the Jadertine rector/conte (count), who controlled the various subdivisions under his entire jurisdiction. These included the various possessions of the subjected towns of Nin, Novigrad, and Vrana, which contributes to the rather confusing terminology. Zadar's jurisdiction was expanded into the Dalmatian hinterlands beyond the ancient Roman ager publicus (public lands).¹⁴³ These areas were known as territorium (territory), subdivisions within the larger framework of the comitatus/contado (county).¹⁴⁴ In the present study, the distinction used are as follows: the entire entity will be referred to as *jurisdiction*, the territories of the subject towns are called (minor) *districts*.

¹³⁹ For these names and descriptions as well as detailed information about the villages and approximate borders of said counties, see Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 142, but also Goldstein, "Županije," 14–5.

¹⁴⁰ Pederin, *Mletačka uprava*, 14, as well as Novak–Sambailo, "O autonomiji dalmatinskih komuna," 11–131.

¹⁴¹ As suggested by Tomislav Raukar, these auctions were the main reason for keeping the medieval structures in place. Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 64.

¹⁴² These included the castles in Karin (Carino), Korlatović (Corlat), and Benković (Bencovich), to name a few. For more detailed information, see Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 143.

¹⁴³ This was also the most fertile land close to the city centre itself and a source of revenues for the state fiscal system. Suić, *Zadar u starom vijeku*, 95.

¹⁴⁴ These terms have been taken from Mayhew and will slightly be amended, as expressed above. After 1700, the districts of Nin, and Novigrad were re-established and the Venetians took over the Ottoman military frontier system. This did not happen before because of the differences between the Venetian defensive system in the 15th and 16th centuries, relying mainly on expensive mercenary troops combined with local militias while employing much less people in the frontier areas. Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 146–50.

2.3. The Venetian Administration in Zadar

The public officials representing the Serenissima in her Dalmatian possessions were established gradually over the course of the centuries following 1409.¹⁴⁵ These offices include the Capitano generale (Captain-general), the Provveditore generale in Dalmazia et Albania (Overseer-General in Dalmatia and Albania), and the governors of the cities and islands, the counts.

After the Venetians took over parts of the coastal communities, they attempted to unite the quasi-independent cities in order to facilitate the defence of her dominions.¹⁴⁶ The office of the Provveditore was established shortly after the Republic of St Mark gained control, motivated by the strategic importance of securing the sea routes along the eastern littoral of the Adriatic. The preceding office of the Captain-General, whose tour of duty was mostly spent on vessels supervising the various communities¹⁴⁷, was subsequently changed and upgraded to the Provveditore in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. The person holding these offices were the supreme Venetian representatives in the province.¹⁴⁸

One level below, Zadar's count was considered the first among equals heads of the local administration. He was usually a Venetian patrician of lower birth and wealth dispatched to the Dalmatian towns with certain amounts of social prestige and stature due to his descent.¹⁴⁹ And while the Republic of St Mark in general respected local autonomies to a certain degree, the inhabitants of the subject communities had no influence in his election. The average time in office amounted to circa two years, and while the Provveditore generale was absent, the count's duties also included diplomatic negotiations.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁵ In general terms, see O'Connell, *Men of Empire*, 2–3, 31–3, and Maštrović, *Razvoj sudstva*, 11–7.

¹⁴⁶ More or less voluntarily, the Dalmatian towns submitted to Venice partially appealing to the “carefully cultivated self-image” of their new suzerain. O'Connell, *Men of Empire*, 27–33, the quote is from page 30.

See also Cozzi, “Politica del diritto,” 251–54, Gherardo Ortalli, “Entrar nel Dominio: le dedizioni delle città alla Repubblica Serenissima,” in *Società, economia, istituzioni: Elementi per la conoscenza della Repubblica di Venezia*, vol. 1, ed. Giorgio Zordan and Gino Benzoni (Verona: Cierre Edizioni, 2002), 52–54 (49–62), Pederin, *Mletačka uprava*, 17.

¹⁴⁷ Pederin, *Mletačka uprava*, 105.

¹⁴⁸ First mentioned in 1574, the Provveditore took up permanent residence only at the beginning of the 17th century. He supervised the entire double province Albania–Dalmatia and was responsible for the upholding of the legal system, assisted by his cancelleria (chancellery), his duties also included negotiations with the Ottomans and Habsburgs. Astounding about this office is the huge amount of written documents, including in many cases daily letters to the Signoria in Venice. Given the afore-mentioned date of the institution of the office, it is of little relevance to the present thesis, for detailed information, see Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 150–6.

¹⁴⁹ Cozzi, *Ambiente veneziano*, 303.

¹⁵⁰ The title rector/conte (count) was used in Dalmatia and in Pula (Pola), in the rest of Istria and Venice's possessions on the mainland, the title of the Venetian officials was podestà to better adhere to medieval institutions. *Ibid.*, 302.

The powers of Zadar's count extended over its entire jurisdiction, including the castles in Nin, Novigrad, and Vrana, although these places had their own castellanus (castellan). Furthermore, the Jadertine count was also senior to all other counts in the province¹⁵¹, in Zadar his duties were to preside over the council, was responsible for the organisation of the commune, and spoke law. He was assisted by four consilarii (councillors) of local noble descent whose advice to the count was in no ways binding.¹⁵² These traits, combined with the centralisation of power with the count, especially during wartime, further detached the office-holder from the community.¹⁵³ In addition, Zadar also hosted a capitaneus/capitano (captain), thus separating the legislative-judicial competence from military-security issues. The latter office was comparable to the count's, similarly including a tour of duty lasting circa two years and was reserved for Venetian patricians only, too.¹⁵⁴ Despite the geographical distance between the councils of government in the lagoon, the Venetian provincial governors only disposed of limited autonomy to act independently from the Senate and/or the Signoria.¹⁵⁵

Other than the Venetian officials, there existed possibilities for the local populace to participate in the local government. Admittedly, the Republic of St Mark kept all decisive positions for her own patricians, but the cities offered certain possibilities of employment, too. For instance, the Jadertine count had the right to keep a gastaldus (gastald) and four praecones (public heralds), paid out of the communal treasury. The duties of these officials included dealing with the orders of the count's office, public announcements, oversee the public auctions as well as ecclesiastical obligations. The day-to-day work of the administration, includ-

¹⁵¹ Pederin, *Mletačka uprava*, 42.

¹⁵² Novak-Sambrailo, "O autonomiji dalmatinskih komuna," 59–128.

In their report, dated 15 April, 1553, Johannes Baptista Justinian and Antonius Diedo, state that while these councillors assist the Venetian count in civil court, the criminal cases belong to Venetians only. In grave cases – extortions, grand theft, or rebellion – the councillors were not heard. The two Venetian patricians even bluntly stated that the count could do as he pleased anyway. Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 197.

¹⁵³ Novak-Sambrailo, "O autonomiji dalmatinskih komuna," 125.

¹⁵⁴ In all other Dalmatian communities, there did not exist such a separation but a personal union between the two offices. Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 45.

Also, it is worth noting that Benjamin Arbel stated there was a count-captain (conte e capitano) in personal union in Zadar. Arbel, "Colonie d'oltremare," 972.

At times, though, this was clearly not the case, as evidence in late 1553, when Hieronymus Delfinus/Dolfin was named the captain and Franciscus/Francesco Nani the count. Cf. SM I, 1, 2, stipulated on 15 December, 1553, as well as DC I, 1, 1, f32r, stipulated on 7 November, 1553.

A detailed overview about these offices in the Venetian maritime state is provided by Monique O'Connell, based upon a collaborative effort by her, Andrea Mozzato, and Benjamin Kohl. For the online database, see Monique O'Connell, ed., "Rulers of Venice: Governanti di Venezia, 1332–1524: Interpretations, Methods, Database," accessed 7 December, 2010, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/heh.90021>.

The afore-mentioned table can be accessed in the appendix of O'Connell, *Men of Empire*, 161–4.

¹⁵⁵ Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 158–9.

ing its correspondence, was organised via the cancellaria comitis (chancellor's office).¹⁵⁶ In addition, there were also other positions within the fabric of Jadertine society available: notaries public, scribes, medical doctors/physicians, teachers, interpreters and customs officials, eventually constituting a social group of local civil servants of both noble and non-noble descent.¹⁵⁷

2.4. Local Autonomy, Migration, and the Economy

As the Republic of St Mark expanded, it sought to confirm, adapt, and amend the local legal and social customs. This provided the subject cities and territories with a certain amount of local autonomy¹⁵⁸ and helped the Venetians to firmly rule while at the same time taking advantage of the disparities between the nobility and the commoners.¹⁵⁹ Zadar's society was divided along social fault lines, the aristocracy, gathered in the consilium or curia/consiglio (council), held the most prestigious positions. This advisory body to the rectors, comprising all adult male individuals of noble descent and, around the mid-sixteenth century, comprised the number of seventy individuals.¹⁶⁰ The Venetian officials – count and captain – presided over this gathering, while the commoners, united in their disagreement with the nobles, constantly disagreed with them. The Republic of St Mark tried to mediate between the two groups, though given the prior seven rebellions of Zadar's nobility against her, she leaned towards the commoners.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁶ Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 159.

See also Ref., cap. 32: "De gastaldione et praeconibus domini comitis et eorum salario." Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 541.

¹⁵⁷ These positions usually required literacy and/or, of course depending on which field of expertise, education in various other topics, e.g. medicine, laws, etc. The number of these civil servants rose throughout the 16th century virtually in all realms around the Mediterranean, including in the two universal monarchies Spain and the Ottoman Empire as well as in the emerging territorial states of Western Europe. Braudel, *Mediterranean*, vol. 2, 681–7, as well as Arbel, "Colonie d'oltremare," 971–4.

In more general terms, see Cozzi, "Politica del diritto," 255–6, but see also David Jacoby, *La féodalité en Grèce médiévale: Les "Assises de Romanie", sources, application et diffusion* (Paris: Mouton, 1971), 103.

¹⁵⁸ In 1409, then-Doge Michael Steno granted Venetian citizenship *de intus* to all of Zadar's citizens in order to secure their allegiance to the Republic of St Mark. O'Connell, *Men of Empire*, 28, but see also Reinhold C. Mueller, "Aspects of Venetian Sovereignty in Medieval and Renaissance Dalmatia," in *Quattrocento Adriatico: Fifteenth-Century Art of the Adriatic Rim: Papers from a Colloquium Held at the Villa Spelman, Florence, 1994*, ed. Charles Dempsey (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1996), 47–8 (29–56).

¹⁵⁹ For the economic differences between nobility and commoners during the 15th century, see Raukar, *Zadar u XV. stoljeću*, 301–6.

¹⁶⁰ The number of 70 is given by Johannes Baptista Justinian and Antonius Diedo, in their report dated 15 April, 1553, see Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 197.

¹⁶¹ Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 402, and Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 163.

See also the report by Johannes Baptista Justinian and Antonius Diedo, in their report dated 15 April, 1553, in Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 193–4, in which the two Venetian officials also discuss these rebellions.

The council was the body from which, every three months, four councillors were elected who assisted the count when he spoke law.¹⁶² The latter was the supreme justice in penal cases in the entire jurisdiction, only in civil cases he was joined by the four councillors.¹⁶³ In cases involving Venetians and their subjects from other parts of its possessions as well as foreigners, the count also decided alone.¹⁶⁴ The legal system was based on the communal statutes, common law, and case precedent.¹⁶⁵ In case none of this could be applied or was not in accordance with the interests of the Republic of St Mark, the count would judge according to his conscience and sense of justice.¹⁶⁶ In case of disagreement with the court's findings, the possibility to petition the Quarantia (Court of Appeals) in Venice existed.¹⁶⁷ In these cases, the appeals had to be considered in the light of local law, not the Venetian legal norms and practices.¹⁶⁸ Appeals of lower institutions such as schola/fratalea (brotherhoods, guilds)¹⁶⁹ could be given to the count himself.¹⁷⁰

The rural organisation under the jurisdiction of Venice was able to retain certain amounts of autonomy within the Stato da mar. The office of iudex (judge) of the various villages was unpaid although some territorial privileges could be obtained. After 1537, they could be obliged to unpaid public works but the officeholder was exempted from military service.¹⁷¹

¹⁶² These councillors had to be at least twenty years old and were sworn in at the beginning of their term in office. See Ref., cap. 10: "De Consilio Iadrensi," Ref., cap. 11: "De iuramento consiliariorum." Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 526–8.

¹⁶³ See Ref., cap. 80: "De potestate et arbitrio domini comitis in maleficiis." Ibid., 576.

The advice by the councillors was, however, not legally binding, as noted by Johannes Baptista Justinian and Antonius Diedo. Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 197.

¹⁶⁴ Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 369.

¹⁶⁵ In addition to the indications from the city's statutes above, see Lib. II, tit. I, cap. 8: "De causarum seu litigiorum forensium personarum expeditione," Lib. II, tit. I, cap. 9: "De universali domini comitis et eius Curiae iurisdictione," and Lib. II, tit. I, cap. 10: "De speciali Curiae domini comitis seu Maioris Curiae recognitione." Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 132.

¹⁶⁶ Cozzi, *Ambiente veneziano*, 307.

¹⁶⁷ See Ref., cap. 81, "A sententia criminali non potest appellari lata per dominum comitem, a civili potest infra decem dies, ab interlocutoria non." Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 576.

Further, Ref., cap. 97: "De appellationibus." Ibid., 586.

¹⁶⁸ Cozzi, "Dominio da Mar," 199, and Cozzi, *Ambiente veneziano*, 308.

¹⁶⁹ Brotherhoods were craft guilds, originating in the Middle Ages, used by Venice to channel the artisans powers to control it better. The first Dalmatian guild was Zadar's cobbler guild, for information additional information thereof see Nada Klaić, "Fratalea artis calegariorum de Iadra," *Matasovićev zbornik* (1972): 135–49.

¹⁷⁰ Pederin, *Mletačka uprava*, 15.

This combination of pre-existing local legal norms was mostly respected by the Venetians, although in combination with the new executive instances of these laws, i.e. the Venetian representatives. While the basis was the custom law and the statute, case precedent principle usage increased over the course of the Venetian dominion creating additional amendments to the traditional medieval legal systems.

¹⁷¹ Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 164, Pederin, *Mletačka uprava*, 21, and Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 49.

Further, see Ref., cap. 153: "De aetate iudicum villarum." Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 665.

For extensive details about the organisation with an emphasis on the 17th century, follow Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 164–83.

The rural judges were also the first to deal with the waves of migration during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (and afterwards) fluctuated in relation to military activities in the western Balkans. Large numbers of people fleeing the Ottoman advance were first indicated in reports during the 1520s, increasing the pressure on the villages and towns along the coast.¹⁷²

The newcomers were integrated as far as possible within the economic and social context. Agriculture was a significant part of the medieval economy, many migrants settled in the coastal towns and were subsequently employed to work in the fields and produced vegetables, fruits, and olives close to Zadar while grain was harvested further inland.¹⁷³ The legal basis for the agricultural production was the *livellum* (rent) or *livellatio* (land leased) as well as *concessio/pastinatio* (concession or land grants) to *coloni/sozales* (colonists).¹⁷⁴ Legally binding contracts were stipulated by the public notaries according to the customary law and validated by the public officials. In general, these leases granted the farmer–labourer property in exchange for a certain amount of cash (*affictus/locatio*) or payment in kind/produce (*concessio/pastinatio*). In addition, rented land, livestock, and/or other property could be granted to a third party (*conductio*).¹⁷⁵ The statutes also provide detailed provisions pertaining to harvesting, transporting, and additional obligations.¹⁷⁶ Over the course of the sixteenth century, a tendency towards cultivation of one half of any given field while the other half was used as pastureland, swapped every year, emerged.¹⁷⁷ In addition to the stipulated share of the

¹⁷² Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 229–30.

¹⁷³ Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 228–9.

For details on the Venetian impact on Dalmatian agriculture, see Šime Peričić, “Prilog poznavanju agrarnih odnosa u mletačkoj Dalmaciji [Contribution to the knowledge of agricultural relations in Venetian Dalmatia],” *Rad. HAZU–Zd.* 34 (1992): 138 (135–59).

¹⁷⁴ Follow Giorgio Giorgetti, *Contadini e proprietari nell'Italia moderna: Rapporti di produzione e contratti agrari dal secolo XVI a oggi* (Turin: Einaudi, 1974), 138–99.

¹⁷⁵ For the custom law as defined by the statutes, see Lib. III, tit. XVI: “De locatione et conductione omnium rerum stabilium, mobilium et se moventium et operarum omnium personarum,” containing 19 chapters, and Lib. III, tit. XVII: “De iure emphiteotico seu de iure quod acquiritur danti et recipienti possessiones aliquas pastinandum,” containing 7 chapters. Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 310–32.

¹⁷⁶ Three days prior to the harvest, the labourer had to inform the landlord, see Lib. III, tit. XVI, cap. 73: “Quod quicumque laboraverit seu fecerit laborari alienas vineas domino denuntiare tenetur antequam vindimiet per tres dies.” *Ibid.*, 318.

Usually, contracts stipulated that ¼ of the produce had to be given to the landlord (the rest was the labourer’s), typically in combination with regulations about transporting it, See Lib. III, tit. XVI, cap. 72: “Quomodo, quousque et quibus expensis laborator vineae tenetur in uvis vel in vino partem domino assignare.” *Ibid.*, 318.

In addition, exceptions to the stipulated obligations could include death, illness (plague), military service, and/or Ottoman incursions. See Lib. III, tit. XVI, cap. 68: “Qualiter laborator qui vineam conduxit sive ad partem sive ad medietatem, tenetur eam colere; et de poena si cessabit laborare, nisi interveniente iusta causa,” and Lib. III, tit. XVI, cap. 69: “Quae sunt causae propter quas excusatur laborator, si non laboravit vineam ut convenit.” *Ibid.*, 314–6.

¹⁷⁷ Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 230–1.

harvest belonging to the landlord, *honorantiae* (special gifts) had to be given to the proprietor.¹⁷⁸ And in case a landlord altered the provisions (excess of duties, change of transport location), a colonist could resell, re-rent, and/or leave his obligations in accordance with the communal statutes.¹⁷⁹

On an economic scale, the changes after the re-establishment of Venetian authority in 1409 were of huge importance. While the Hungarian suzerainty granted its subject cities a relatively large amount of autonomy, the Republic of St Mark embedded her new acquisitions into her much more centralised and monopolised economic system.¹⁸⁰ From the early 1420s onwards, the Dalmatian cities were forced to recognise Venice's *ius emporii* (staple rights/*Stapelrecht*), which itself was of little success but caused immediate destruction to the local economies.¹⁸¹ The ensuing Venetian monopolisation efforts of the salt trade were especially grave, in particular given the reliance of the coastal towns on it for their revenues.¹⁸² Artisans and their crafts were less affected but commerce and trade declined after 1409. The hinterland's produce – fabrics, honey, raisin, wax, and wool¹⁸³ – continued to arrive in Zadar and so did the economic decline, culminating in the crisis of the sixteenth century.¹⁸⁴ While the migrations out of the western Balkans subsided, the Ottomans pushed their borders closer to the city walls, effectively strangling them from the outside, too. Apart from Dubrovnik (Ragusa),

¹⁷⁸ Typically, these included small livestock such as piglets, chicken, rooster, or young lambs. These had to be consigned at Christmas, *carnis privum* (Carnival), and/or Easter or any other date specified by the land-owner. Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 231, and Peričić, "Prilog poznavanju agrarnih odnosa," 153.

¹⁷⁹ For the re-rental provisions in case the landlord would alter the stipulated obligations, subject to legal proceedings, see Lib. III, tit. XVII, cap. 85: "Quomodo rusticus emphiteota volens vendere iura sua tenetur denunciare domino, et quae forma observari." Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 328.

For changes after the 1570s, including additional newcomers, transhumance, taxation in the context of Ottoman–Venetian relations, follow Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 232–49.

¹⁸⁰ For 15th-century Zadar in particular, follow Raukar, *Zadar u XV. stoljeću*, but see also Tomislav Raukar, "Kroatien um die Wende vom 15. zum 16. Jahrhundert," in *Kroatien: Landeskunde–Geschichte–Kultur–Politik–Wirtschaft–Recht*, ed. Neven Budak (Vienna: Österreichisches Ost- und Südosteuropa-Institut, 1995), 145–54.

¹⁸¹ Venice's stranglehold over the local Jadertine economy was evident after 1409: Dalmatian merchants were allowed to fly the pennant of St Mark (for protection) but were not allowed to sell their goods outside Venice proper. Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 75–80.

In addition, the Senate in Venice refused to grant the Dalmatians the same (full) civil rights status as the Venetians, see Cozzi, "Dominio da Mar," 201.

However, Zadar's citizens were granted Venetian citizenship *de intus*, a slightly inferior legal status as the original citizens of the Republic of St Mark themselves enjoyed. O'Connell, *Men of Empire*, 28, and Mueller, "Aspects of Venetian Sovereignty," 47–8.

¹⁸² For instance, Pag's salt production declined by circa 90 % over the course of the 15th century. See Raukar, *Zadar u XV. stoljeću*, 281–97, as well as Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 85–8.

¹⁸³ Knapton, "Stato da Mar," 365, 368.

¹⁸⁴ The remaining parts of the economic life included small-scale trade with the hinterland, cattle and livestock-related trading, and local market aspects.

Zadar remained the most important harbour in central Dalmatia until the establishment of the Scala di Spalato after the 1570s.¹⁸⁵

These factors affected daily life in a wide variety of contexts, the most important being robberies, cattle theft, and slavery, aspects even earlier but increasingly after the Cyprus War.¹⁸⁶ Before the 1570s, robbery and theft of cattle and/or horses were minor offences¹⁸⁷, thereafter cross-border theft (organised) robberies were more severely sanctioned, usually with the death penalty.¹⁸⁸ Also, slavery and/or ransoming of captured business partners, friends, and relatives was also common. Captured or enslaved individuals would attempt to contact their family, friends, and state representatives to collect the ransom money, which was at least partially refundable by the Venetian government.¹⁸⁹

In conclusion, Zadar continued to live as a typical Dalmatian coastal community based on its medieval social, economic, and commercial organisation amended and combined with the Venetian administrative and cultural influence after 1409. Subject to Jadertine jurisdiction were also the fortified towns of Ljubač, Nin, Novigrad, and Vrana on the mainland, in addition, numerous islands off the coast were also part of Zadar's authority. While life at the frontiers of the Venetian dominion was not easy, the common enemy held the social strata together and made it easier for the former's representatives to provide a certain amount of stability during the eventful sixteenth century.

¹⁸⁵ Interestingly, this is almost completely absent from the notarial protocols and thus not traceable. As a consequence, the present study does not elaborate on it. For Split, see Paci, *Scala di Spalato*.

¹⁸⁶ Tea Mayhew refers to Gligor Stanojević who suggested the weakness of both Ottoman and Venetian empires at their peripheries to be at least partially responsible for these developments. Gligor Stanojević, *Dalmatinske krajine u XVIII. vijeku* [The Dalmatian military borders in the 18th century] (Zagreb: Prosvjet, 1987), and Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 256.

¹⁸⁷ Everyone could apprehend a thief and deliver her/him to the Jadertine count, see Lib. II, tit. II, cap. 15: "Qualiter conceditur publicorum malefactorum detentio." Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 136.

¹⁸⁸ Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 356–9.

¹⁸⁹ Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 260–2.

Synopsis

Part one provides the over-all historical and structural frame in which the present study is situated. Consisting of two chapters, the former details the geographical and territorial expansion by Venice, its patterns, organisational, and economic dimensions from the aftermath of the Peace of Zadar (1358) to the Battle of Lepanto (1571). The latter leaves the macro level and presents in-depth elaborations on Zadar's central Dalmatian hinterlands, its administrative, economical, social structures.

Having lost its Dalmatian possessions to Hungary's king Louis I in the mid-fourteenth century, the ensuing disastrous War of Chioggia (1378 to 1381) against her old rival, Genoa, witnessed the Republic of St Mark on the brink of defeat. After narrowly avoiding catastrophe, Venice's more solid social cohesion proved to be the stepping stone to renewed imperial expansion throughout the Eastern Mediterranean. From the mid-1380s to the second half of the fifteenth century, the Venetians gained or renewed their dominion over the Adriatic, the Ionian Islands, large stretches of the Aegean Sea, and took over Cyprus by the century's end. The Most Serene Republic's expansion eventually reached its geographical, military, and political limits, once its borders met those of the other ascending Eastern Mediterranean power, the Ottoman Empire. As a consequence, wars between the rulers of the lagoon metropolis and the lords of the City of Men's Desires became inevitable. Another result of these developments was the territorial stagnation of Venice's expansion from the late fifteenth century to the begin of her decline, more or less associated with the Battles of Preveza (1538) and Lepanto (1571).

For "honour and profit"¹⁹⁰, the leitmotif of Venice's aristocratic ruling elite and her territorial expansion cannot be separated from the patricians' commercial and economic interests. Venetian power abroad arose as a direct consequence of deliberate discussions in the councils

¹⁹⁰ The establishment of Venice's overseas dominions was closely tied to the motto "Ad proficuum et honorem Venetiarum", writes Benjamin Arbel, a phrase often repeated in the reports and directives of Venetian administrators returning from their tours of duty. Interestingly, the same motto re-appears in Monique O'Connell's study, however, as the referenced reports indicate – the "Commissio spectabilis et generosi domini Donati Barbaro honorabilis comitis Tragurii" and the "Commissio Joannis Balbi comitis Curzola" –, it is a very poignant portmanteau. Nevertheless, it is worth pointing out that the exact wording does not appear verbatim in the two references. The former's report, written on 13 January, 1441, concludes with "Jurasti proficuum et honorem communis Venetiarum", the latter's report, dated 3 November, 1530, stated that the author, Johannes Balbo, ruled over Korčula (Curzola) "ad honorum et bonum statum communis Venetiarum."

For the quotes above, see Arbel, "Colonie d'oltremare," 964, and O'Connell, *Men of Empire*, 5, for the two reports quoted see Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 1, 16, and Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 53.

of government, perceived necessities, and successful negotiations.¹⁹¹ These fundamentals of the *Stato da mar* are detailed in the sub-chapters discussing imperial organisation and the economic implications of Venice's overseas possessions.

The second large segment leaves the macro level and moves the scene closer to the nominal capital city of Venice's Albanian–Dalmatian double province. The Adriatic context of the *Stato da mar*, its “key city”¹⁹², and the then–present economic, political, and social structures take centre stage. Focusing on issues as diverse as the geophysical properties of Zadar's hinterlands, the continuous Ottoman pressure from the western Balkan hinterlands, and the Venetian administrators, a coherent picture of central Dalmatia arises. Incorporated anew into the over-reaching framework of the *Stato da mar* from the fifteenth century on, formerly-held political prerogatives by the elites of the communes were lost while contemporaneously the over-all economic significance all but vanished. Described as rather poor but loyal, the Dalmatian populace was, literally, caught between a rock and a hard place. On the one hand, integration into Venice's dominions meant Christian suzerainty, on the other hand, increasing Ottoman pressure originating from the western Balkan hinterlands implied shrinking jurisdictions, diminishing agricultural production capacities, and decreasing over-all importance. On top of these issues, the Venetian interests, mainly focused on keeping control of the sea routes along the Dalmatian coast by playing local nobility against the commoner populace and the various cities against each other, contributed to the further decline of the urban communities.

Detailed accounts of Zadar and its jurisdiction, including an overview of its subject territory are followed by the listing of the consequences of Venice's take-over after 1409. Profiting from the Angevin–Aragonese–Luxembourg succession crisis spanning from the Hungarian Plains to southern Italy, continued dominion over the Adriatic was achieved for a couple of large coffers filled with golden coins. Consequently, Venice's new role was solidified by the newly-established administrations along the Adriatic's oriental littoral, further contributing to factors as diverse as questions of local autonomy, transhumance, and the general economic stagnation as well as subsequent decline of Dalmatia.

¹⁹¹ Paraphrased after the title of Monique O'Connell's study *Men of Empire*.

¹⁹² Returning from his visitations in Albania and Dalmatia in 1553, one of Venice's legates, Antonio Diedo, opened his description of Zadar with the following statement: “Zara è metropoli et chiave di quella provintia.” He obviously set the tone as his co-legate, Johannes Baptista Justiniano, began his report on Zadar with a comparable choice of words: “Zara, siccome è principal città di quella provintia, è medesimamente la chiave di Dalmatia (...).” Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 3 [= *Monumenta*, vol. 11], 17, 35.

Part II: Zadar's Society and its Geographical Range

3. Trans-Adriatic Connections

In the decades following the Peace of Zadar (1358), the coastal communities and their hinterlands were integrated into a common economic and political framework, the domains of Louis I of Hungary.¹ Named 'the Great' for his achievements, the Angevin ruler and his ties to the Florentine merchants and bankers resulted in increased commerce and investments across both shores of the Adriatic. This was especially true for both Dalmatia's nobility and commoners alike who were actively engaged in trading: Due to their advantageous geographical position in-between Florence and the Hungarian plains, investments all along the eastern littoral of the Adriatic soared.² Italian merchants and bankers co-operated with local businesses in salt production, trading, and the vibrant export-import of raw materials.³ As for the city of Zadar, its salt and textile trade were of great importance and by the beginning of the fifteenth

¹ For the Hungarian-Croatian dominion of Dalmatia in general, follow Engel, *Realm of St Stephen*, 161–7, as well as Engel, Kristó, and Kubinyi, *Hongarie médiévale*, 62–4, Borsari, "Veneziani delle colonie," 127–58, and Krekić, "Venezia e l'Adriatico," 56–58.

For more detailed information about the development of the coastal communities in the late Middle Ages, see Tomislav Raukar, "Komunalna društva u Dalmaciji u XIV. stoljeću [Commune societies in Dalmatia in the 14th century]," *Historijski zbornik* 33–34 (1980–1981): 139–209.

² For the activities of the Florentines in Dalmatian over the course of the 14th century, follow Tomislav Raukar, "I fiorentini in Dalmazia nel secolo XIV," *Archivio Storico Italiano* 153 (1995): 657–80.

³ In addition to salines under its own jurisdiction, the commune of Zadar possessed also large salt-producing capacities on the neighbouring island of Pag (Pago). The latter's production was subsequently used to supply the Bosnian and Croatian hinterlands with salt. In general, see Raukar, "Zadarska trgovina solju," 19–79.

For an introductory overview of the Venetian mercantile endeavours including extensive bibliographical references, see Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 5–53, Cozzi and Knapton, *Repubblica di Venezia nell'età moderna*, vol. 1, 183–5, Cozzi and Knapton, "Stato da Mar," 326–96, 536–40, David Jacoby, "Changing Economic Patterns in Latin Romania: The Impact of the West," in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2001), 197–233, Lane, *Maritime Republic*, 56–65, Luzzatto, *Storia economica di Venezia*, 133–214, as well as Thiriet, *Romanie vénétienne*, 303–52.

For an exemplary study on the Venetian dominance in the salt trade, see Hocquet, *Le Sel*, for the Venetian wheat monopoly, follow Marino Gallina, *Un società coloniale del trecento: Creta fra Venezia e Bisanzio* (Venice: Deputazione Editrice, 1989).

century its economic significance was rivalled only by Dubrovnik.⁴ For security reasons and in accordance with local practices, the profits raised were invested in real estate property.⁵

The years after Louis' death in 1382 and the ensuing succession conflicts weakened the Hungarian–Croatian realm. Subsequently, the fight over the crown of St Stephen between the houses of Anjou and Luxembourg intensified, with Venice being one outside power taking advantage of the situation. By 1409, the Most Serene Republic had re-asserted her control over central Dalmatia, gaining dominion over Pag, Nin, Novigrad, and Zadar, including the latter's dependent territories on the mainland as well as its islands.⁶ The fifteenth century may be divided into two distinct periods, one being caused by interior factors, the other by exterior developments.⁷ Over the decades between the Venetian take-over and the long Ottoman–Venetian War (1463 to 1479)⁸, an over-all slowdown in economic activity is visible. In this half century, the Serenissima sought increasingly to monopolise commerce and trade in its dominions, contributing to the decline of the Dalmatian urban centres.⁹ The second change was of exterior nature. Ever since the armies of Mehmed II stormed the ramparts of Constantinople in 1453, his troops continued their expansion. In the second half of the fifteenth century, the manifold Ottoman advances and campaigns into the Balkans¹⁰ further contributed to the decline of cross-Adriatic commerce and trade as the vital connections to the hinterlands of the

⁴ Raukar, *Zadar u XV. stoljeću*, 88–93.

⁵ Neven Budak argued in this direction, the subsequent analysis of Zadar's real estate property market will show how far this statement may be valid around the mid-16th century. Budak, "Urban élites," 186.

⁶ The struggles for the succession in the domain of Louis I eventually led to the Angevin Ladislav of Naples selling the last hold-outs in Dalmatia he actually controlled to Venice in 1409. In the ensuing years, the Serenissima was able to take over, step by step, more of the Dalmatian coast. For the sale of Zadar to the Venetians, follow Krekić, "Venezia e l'Adriatico," 79–82, as well as the summary in O'Connell, *Men of Empire*, 27–33.

It was only after the Venetians re-acquired Dalmatia in the 15th century, that it became embedded into a centralised bureaucracy again – after the Byzantine rule in the Late Antiquity. For the latter, follow Dieter Girgensohn, *Kirche, Politik und adelige Regierung in der Republik Venedig zu Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996).

⁷ Budak, "Urban élites," 186.

⁸ For concise accounts of this war, see Carlo Ceferino Lopez, "Il principio della guerra veneto-turca nel 1463," *Achivio Veneto* 5, no. 15 (1934): 36–67, Fan Stylian Noli, *George Castrioti Scanderbeg, 1405–1468* (New York: International Universities Press, 1947), 33–44, 63–104, for more details, follow Schmitt, *Venezianisches Albanien*, 295–314, as well as Schmitt, *Skanderbeg*, 256–90.

⁹ From 1422 onwards, Venice ordered the Dalmatian cities to re-direct their trade towards her lagoon, enforcing the Venetian staple rights. While this economic policy brought little fruit, its consequences in Dalmatia were drastic, for instance, the output of the salines on Pag decreased tenfold over the course of a couple of decades. Raukar, *Zadar u XV. stoljeću*, 75–6, 85–8.

¹⁰ After the conquest of Constantinople, the armies of Mehmed II continued to advance, reaching the southern shores of the Danube at Belgrade in short order (1456), conquering the Peloponnese (Morea, 1460), and the last surviving relic of Byzantium, the Empire of Trebizond (Trabzon, 1461). In the wake of these successes, the Ottomans continued to advance westwards, and while they were fighting in Albania for some time by then, the sultan's armies reached the Adriatic shores in their long conflict with Venice after 1463. For a very detailed account of the Ottoman's gradual advance in the first half of the 15th century, see Setton, *Papacy and the Levant*, 1–38, 82–137.

coastal communities first became increasingly dangerous and then all but cut off. As a consequence of both factors interior and exterior, Dalmatia became economically insignificant by the turn of the sixteenth century.¹¹

Recent urban historiography seeks to approach urban history from a more network-oriented direction. Studies emphasising the bigger picture of interactions between the urban centres, their subject territories, and connections with other cities¹² have eclipsed approaches focusing on the societal microcosmos. A new range of research possibilities arises from these modified approaches, focusing less on (traditional) patterns of economic developments and changes but more on additional fields of interest.¹³ In this context, Arié Malz suggests research models focusing on local, regional, and supra-regional networks. He differentiates this as follows: *local* means the connections between an urban centre and its hinterland, *regional* describes the interactions of a number of neighbouring cities, whereas *supra-regional* networks signify a broad comparison with other (European) regions within the general context of the emerging European world economy.¹⁴

In principle, a city's economic importance was determined by the number of its inhabitants and the size of the territory under its jurisdiction. The ancient *civitas* or *communitas* (city centre) of Zadar measured circa twenty-eight hectares, the adjacent *burgus*, suburbs, or *borgo* (suburban settlements) amounted to roughly eighteen hectares.¹⁵ The latter settlements were enlarged over the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as immigration originating

¹¹ Budak, "Urban élites," 186.

¹² Starting points into the vast literature on this topic are, for instance, Jean de Vries, *European Urbanization, 1500–1800* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1984), as well as Paul M. Hohenberg and Lynn Hollen Lees, *The Making of Urban Europe, 1000–1994* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1995).

¹³ This argument is mostly based upon Malz, "Frühneuzeitliche Modernisierung," 104–13, however, he argues mostly in terms of alignment of the subject hinterlands towards a clear defined urban centre as a process of increasing modernisation. He suggests research focusing on mostly commercial connections with other cities, especially in the context of proto-industrialisation, which he defines as a combination of commerce, externalisation of production costs towards the rural areas, urbanisation, population density, production integration between urban and rural areas, and the orientation of peripheral economic activities towards the city centre.

The author would like to point out that neither commercial nor economic connections alone could not account for "modernity", especially in the 16th century, especially given his listing of democracy, market economics, and an open society as indicators of 'modern societies'. Malz, "Frühneuzeitliche Modernisierung," 104, 124.

¹⁴ Follow Malz, "Frühneuzeitliche Modernisierung," 104, for the distinction and a brief description.

See also David R. Ringrose, "Urbanization and Modernization in Early Modern Europe," *Journal of Urban History* 24, no. 2 (1998): 155–83. In his article, David Ringrose argues for future research to focus on cities in their environs, including roads, migration patterns, and banking – and an astonishingly mobile society.

This is probably why Martin and Romano argued for increased emphasis being laid on "the underlying reality of economic, social, and geographical fluidity." Romano and Martin, "Reconsidering Venice," 21.

¹⁵ Raukar, "Komunalna društva u XIV. stoljeću," 155–6.

in the hinterlands contributed significantly to the population growth of the coastal cities.¹⁶ This tendency was reinforced once the Ottoman started to advance deep in the western Balkans after their conquest of Constantinople, causing additional incentives to flee to the more secure coastal areas or beyond the sea.¹⁷ Over time, the steady influx of newcomers from the Bosnian and Croatian hinterlands significantly altered the composition of the social fabric along both shores of the Adriatic.¹⁸ As early as over the first decades of the fifteenth century, parts of Zadar's elites left for cities along the eastern coast of Italy. The subsequent influx of rural elements dwelling in and around the urban centres resulted in cities having a more agrarian character.¹⁹

During the long crisis in the aftermath of the Ottoman–Venetian war (1463 to 1479) up until the Cyprus War (1570 to 1573), the areas in the Eastern Mediterranean under the Republic's control decreased significantly. The latter conflict, especially, altered the situation drastically as most of her possessions along the Adriatic coast were reduced to small strips of lands along the shores.²⁰ In the same period, the Serenissima's provincial governors wrote about banditry, abandoned villages, pestilence, and the Ottoman threat as major factors contributing to the continued depopulation of vast stretches of coastal hinterlands.²¹ The Dalmatian cities remained relatively small and experienced a certain degree of stasis during the early modern period.²²

The major changes in this period were related to these basic problems. By 1527, around 8,000 inhabitants lived within the city of Zadar and its suburban areas, as well as circa 9,000

¹⁶ The general direction of these migratory movements were, in principle, directed westwards, towards the urban communities along the eastern shores of the Adriatic and, in some cases, beyond the sea. On occasions, these movements were subject to additional external factors like armed conflicts, pestilence, etc., in turn causing spikes in the total number of individuals migrating from the hinterlands towards the coasts. In general, the total number of people remained more or less constant, however, migration in the opposite direction, i.e. from Venice and/or her possessions on the Italian mainland towards her Dalmatian possessions declined over the 15th and early 16th centuries. Raukar, "Komunalna društva u XV. i XVI. stoljeća," 43–118.

¹⁷ See, for example, the above-referenced works by Michel Balard, Alain Ducellier, and Paolo Petta.

¹⁸ Raukar, "Komunalna društva u XIV. stoljeću," 156–8, Raukar, "Komunalna društva u XV. i XVI. stoljeća," 59. For additional and more regional aspects of this migratory movements, see also Ferdo Gestrin, "Migracije iz Dalmacije u Marke u XV i XVI. stoljeću [Migration from Dalmatia towards the Marche region during the 15th and 16th centuries]," *Radovi Instituta za hrvatsku povijest* 10 (1977): 395–404, as well as Josip Kolanović, *Šibenik u kasnome srednjem vijeku* [Šibenik in the Late Middle Ages] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1995), 38.

¹⁹ Malz, "Frühneuzeitliche Modernisierung," 107.

²⁰ Raukar, "Komunalna društva u XIV. stoljeću," 158–9.

See further the concise summaries, in more general terms see O'Connell, *Men of Empire*, 37–8, and Arbel, "Colonie d'oltremare," 949–51.

²¹ As noted, for instance, in the report by "ser Victor Barbadico," presented on 24 June, 1528, upon his return to Venice after having served as count in Zadar. Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 43–6.

²² See especially the introductory overview given by Malz, "Frühneuzeitliche Modernisierung," 104–11.

souls on the mainland and roughly 7,000 on the islands.²³ In addition, the depopulation of those parts of Zadar's jurisdiction on the mainland caused by these external factors led to the inability of its inhabitants to remain self-sufficient in terms of agricultural production after the 1530s.²⁴ This development caused migratory movements towards the islands off Zadar, causing the population to drop to some 5,200 people in the city and circa 9,000 souls on the islands by the end of the sixteenth century.²⁵ In addition, this demographic development was accompanied by an important shift away from farming to livestock breeding and/or fishing.²⁶ Consequently, the urban population became increasingly dependent on corn imports, further straining what little capital was still available.²⁷

As noted, these developments were mainly caused by external factors, but significant changes in the purlieu of Zadar also took place. In order to secure her position for the decades to come, the Serenissima ordered the construction and/or refurbishment of already existing fortifications at the beginning of the sixteenth century.²⁸ The medieval Jadertine castle was located in the southern parts of the city near the coast to facilitate (naval) support and/or evacuation in an emergency.²⁹ Around 1500, advances in technology and weaponry made further adaptations necessary. The first new projects in Zadar were started in 1537 when Michele

²³ On 10 September, 1527, "ser Zacharias Vallaresso", former captain of Zadar, writes of 6,903 "anime" (souls) in the city itself, for the suburbs he numbers 1,148 souls. In addition, the entire jurisdiction comprised 15,968 (9,109 souls on the mainland, 6,859 souls on the islands). Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 1, 218–9.

²⁴ Raukar, *Zadar u XV. stoljeću*, 153–62.

²⁵ Most people lived on the two large islands right across the Jadertine channel, Pašman (Pasmano) and Ugljan (Ugliano). The numbers are from Neven Budak, "Drei Zentralstädte in Dalmatien: Salona, Zadar, Split," in *Hauptstädte zwischen Save, Bosporus und Dnjepr: Geschichte–Funktion–Nationale Symbolkraft*, ed. Harald Heppner (Vienna: Böhlau, 1998), 116 (101–23).

The vast majority of these newcomers were refugees from the western Balkan hinterlands, both Catholic and Orthodox. Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 370–72.

²⁶ Agricultural extensification continued, reinforced by these external processes over the entire 16th century, a structural development occurring on both shores of the Adriatic: Investments in real estate and farmlands increased in Italy, too. Fernand Braudel, *Sozialgeschichte des 15.–18. Jahrhunderts: Der Alltag* (Munich: Kindler, 1985), 51, and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Das moderne Weltsystem: Die Anfänge kapitalistischer Landwirtschaft und die europäische Weltökonomie* (Frankfurt am Main: Syndikat, 1986), 50.

²⁷ The consequence were not improvements in the agricultural processes but a continued reduction in intensity of farming practices. Braudel, *Der Alltag*, 125, and Wallerstein, *Das moderne Weltsystem*, 33. See also the additional background for the other parts of Dalmatia as detailed by Malz, "Frühneuzeitliche Modernisierung," 104–111.

²⁸ The first wave of fortification efforts in Dalmatia took place almost immediately after Venice re-gained control in the first half of the 15th century. For additional details, see Ennio Concina, "Il rinnovamento difensivo nei territori della Repubblica di Venezia nella prima metà del Cinquecento: Modelli, dibattiti, scelte," in *Atti del Convegno di Studi Architettura militare nell'Europa del XVI secolo*, ed. Carlo Cresti, Amelio Fara, and Daniela Lamberini (Siena: Periccioli, 1988), 93 (91–109).

²⁹ As were the medieval castles in Split and Trogir, the old fort in Šibenik, located on a hill, was connected with the sea via two additional walls. Žmegač, "Venezianische Festungen," 130–1.

Sanmicheli (and his nephew)³⁰ begun to work on the north-eastern parts – the harbour front – of the city's fortifications.³¹ While the legacy of the fortresses is still visible³² in the municipal area today, the accompanying changes – the corresponding influx of artisans (masons, stone cutters, carpenters, etc.) – is less documented. The immediate changes of the razing of the suburbs are still visible: The dwellings in front of the city walls were razed in 1570 to enable new gigantic fortifications to be constructed under the supervision of Sforza Pallavicino.³³

3.1. Adriatic Networks in the Sixteenth Century

For most of their early medieval past, Dalmatia's cities were part of the Byzantine Empire and its tremendous cultural, economic, and political influence. As the empire started to weaken over the course of the eleventh century, the Dalmatian coast lost all advantages of being a part of a large *Commonwealth*.³⁴ Consequently, the hinterlands of the western Balkan with all its pre-existing disadvantages³⁵ became increasingly irrelevant to the coastal areas.³⁶ During of the Angevin dominion (1358 to 1409), central Dalmatia was able to function as the mercantile turnover hub, owing to its advantageous location in-between the Hungarian plains and the southern parts of Italy as well as its salt production capacities. And while some attempts of mercantile networks with the hinterlands appeared in this period³⁷, the Venetian re-conquest

³⁰ Michele Sanmicheli was sent to Corfu soon after the beginning of the Jadertine works, the fortification efforts were subsequently overseen by his nephew, Giangirolamo, in the ensuing years. Paul Davis and David Hemsoll, *Michele Sanmicheli* (Milan: Electa, 2004), 42, as well as Lionello Puppi, *Michele Sanmicheli architetto: Opera completa* (Rome: Caliban Editrice, 1986), 78.

³¹ Žmegač, "Venezianische Festungen," 131–2.

³² As are the fortresses of Kotor, Šibenik, and Trogir; all of these places were reinforced during the 1540s and 1550s. For more information about these places and the subsequent centuries, *Ibid.*, 133–9.

³³ Mocellin, "Città fortificata," 29–40.

³⁴ Follow Obolensky, *Byzantine Commonwealth*, 2, 9, Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini*, 110–28, and Fowden, *Empire to Commonwealth*, 3–11, 100–37, as given above.

³⁵ A quick glance at any map of the region reveals that the mountain ranges run parallel to the coast and that there are only few navigable rivers, especially ones carving valleys from the coast in a north-eastern direction thus preventing easy transport of individuals and trading goods (as well as armies, for that matter) from the coasts towards the hinterlands and vice versa. The most important of these few larger (i.e. at least partially navigable) rivers in the context of this study are the Krka (Cherca), Neretva (Narenta), as well as the Drini (Drin) and Bojana (Buna) river system in present-day Albania.

³⁶ John R. Lampe, "Imperial Borderlands or Capitalist Periphery? Redefining Balkan Backwardness, 1524–1914," in *The Origins of Backwardness in Eastern Europe*, ed. Daniel Chirot (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1989), 179–81 (177–209).

³⁷ As Arié Malz argues, the Jadertine salt production and the comparatively large sales markets in its immediate hinterlands discouraged the merchants of Zadar to become more actively engaged in long-distance trading. Also, Split and Trogir enjoyed much better connections to their respective hinterlands in the western Balkans and started to send their merchants inland to establish trading posts from the 14th century onwards, never leaving the Adriatic area. Malz, "Frühneuzeitliche Modernisierung," 112, as well as Tomislav Raukar, "Jadransko gospodarski sustavi: Split 1475.–1500. godine [Adriatic maritime commerce: Split 1475 to 1500]," *Rad. HAZU, Razred za društvene znanosti* 38 (2000): 65–6, 92 (49–125).

of Dalmatia effectively put an end to them.³⁸ By increasing export duties³⁹ elsewhere and favouring Šibenik⁴⁰, the former's ascent over the sixteenth century re-directed the trade routes. When the Venetians sought to enlarge Split's role as a free harbour after the Cyprus War, though, the commodity flows were re-routed again, prompting renewed changes.⁴¹

While the Venetian economic policies severely constrained⁴² local Albanian–Dalmatian commerce, exchanges between the various coastal communities within the broader framework of the *Stato da mar* never ceased. The most convenient⁴³ approach would be to quantitatively analyse the export licences granted in the coastal cities.⁴⁴ And while for some places like Split and Šibenik this has (partially) been done, a more integrated approach to networks and corre-

³⁸ Old taxation regulations were left untouched, while export goods were subject to ducal approval. These export licences, the so-called *contralittere*, contained information about the cargo, its origins, its port of destination, etc., and gave Venice the means to more effectively control the commodity flows. Unfortunately, this kind of sources has attracted only marginal attention so far. Among the few examples are Josip Kolanović, "Izvori za povijest trgovine i pomorstva srednjovjekovnih dalmatinskih gradova s osobitim osvrtom na Šibenik (contralittere) [Sources pertaining to the history of commerce and maritime trade in medieval Dalmatian cities under individual consideration of the contralittere of Šibenik]," *Adriatica Maritima Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 3 (1979): 98–110 (63–150), Raukar, "Jadransko gospodarski sustavi," as well as Sascha Attia, "Handel und Wirtschaft der Stadt Trogir nach der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts" (M.A. thesis, Univ. of Vienna, 2008).

³⁹ Soon after 1409, Venice forced its staple rights upon the Jadertine merchants, however, while this regulation had been repealed by 1422, it was re-instated about a century later (1519), this time it was applied to the entire *Stato da mar*. Šunjić, *Dalmacija u XV stoljeću*, 232–41.

While export-derived taxation levied on goods declined over the 15th century, the following century witnessed a veritable slump of up to 75 % due to the Ottoman–Venetian wars (1537 to 1541, 1570 to 1573), never again to reach the levels of the late Middle Ages. Raukar, *Zadar u XV. stoljeću*, 253–7.

⁴⁰ Šibenik was granted the *Gabella del Sal* in 1525, mostly because of its better connections with the western Balkans, thus making it the first trading harbour for Dalmatian salt, further contributing to the relative decline of other cities. The city also profited from its geographical location and good connections towards the interior of the Balkans: The river Krka (Narenta) led towards Knin (Tenin) and Zagreb, while the Svilaja Pass led towards Bosnia (Cetin, Livanjsko Polje). Over the ensuing decades, Šibenik became also the prime turnover place for the products of the hinterlands and its inhabitants, the Morlachs. After the late 1570s, though, the establishment of the free harbour in Split re-directed these trade routes again. Kolanović, *Šibenik u kasnome srednjem vijeku*, 20–5, 201, Malz, "Frühneuzeitliche Modernisierung," 112, Paci, *Scala di Spalato*, as well as Sead M. Traljić, "Zadar i Turska Pozadina od XV od Potkraj XIX stoljeća [Venetian and Turkish hinterlands from the 15th to the beginning of the 19th centuries]," *Rad. JAZU–Zd.* 11–12 (1965): 216–25.

Arié Malz writes of Šibenik having been granted salt taxation rights, however, does not mention Zadar. As far as the sources are concerned, there are indications that the former place was granted this particular right in addition to the already-existing office in the latter. For instance, in November of 1553, a procuratorial contract cites the "computa administrationis salis ciuitatis Jadrae", even naming "quondam ser Gasparem Gasparouich (...) olim gabellotum" as the former office-holder. This leads to the conclusion that the new office in Šibenik was an addition to the one already existing in Zadar (which also possessed salt pans on the neighbouring island of Pag), testifying to the growing importance of the former, not the inevitable decline of the latter. For the source, cf. DC I, 1, 1, f32r, stipulated on 7 November, 1553.

⁴¹ Over a couple of decades following the conclusion of the Cyprus War in 1573, Split's role increased manifold. Large quarantine areas, a new lazaretto, and additional lodgings were constructed, connections with the Bosnian hinterlands were intensified, promising faster access from Banja Luka and Sarajevo to the Adriatic as compared to Dubrovnik. Paci, *Scala di Spalato*, 14–5.

⁴² In some older Croatian publications, this has been literally called the "(wholesale, the author) destruction of commerce of the Adriatic cities." For instance, see Grga Novak, *Povijest Splita: Od 1420. do 1797 god.* [History of Split: From 1420 to 1797] (Split: Matica Hrvatska, 1961), 93.

⁴³ Schmitt, "Südosteuropa als Kommunikationsraum," 82.

⁴⁴ For a (rather very) brief survey about the Eastern Mediterranean considered under these aspects, *Ibid.*, 82–90.

sponding mobility appears to be necessary.⁴⁵ Analysis of the *contralittere* (export licences) may only describe the economic connections between two or more places, in order to achieve a more comprehensive understanding of the “remarkable geographical mobility”⁴⁶, additional sets of data need to be analysed.

3.2. Procuratorial Networks

Before focusing on the different urban elites, the character, dimensions, and motivation behind the Adriatic networks needs to be addressed in order to denote the necessary social, economic, and geographical framework. The incentives and ranges of connections between individuals can be quantitatively discerned in at least two forms of documentation, export licences and *procurae* (procuratorial contracts). The former enable us to reconstruct almost exclusively economic activity, thus rendering them not too helpful for the analysis of any other types of mobility. The latter, on the contrary, are of a much more inclusive character in terms of economic, geographical, and social diversity as regards the stipulating parties, their provenance, and destinations. Also, the lack of consistent large-scale analysis of export licences over long periods of time renders the former approach convenient but less significant.

The following analysis is based upon 930 individual procuratorial contracts and is designed to further our understanding of the mechanisms of communication between the local Dalmatian elites, the foreign dignitaries, and the rest of the general populace.⁴⁷ This particular type of notarial act has been chosen primarily for the following reasons. While analysis of export licences provides a valuable insight into the business transactions of the mercantile elite, the procuratorial contracts provide far more economic, geographical, and social diversity. Far from being the ultimate source, the procuratorial acts nonetheless provide a more inclusive

⁴⁵ In general, see Raukar, “Jadransko gospodarski sustavi,” for Split, and Kolanović, “Šibenik (*contralittere*).”

⁴⁶ Romano and Martin, “Reconsidering Venice,” 21.

⁴⁷ Budak, “Urban élites,” 194.

The sources for this survey are found in DAZd, SZB, notaries public AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JM (1545–1569), JMM (1540–1554), MAS (1544–1548), NC (1558–1567), ND (1540–1566), PB (1540–1569), PS (1545–1551), SB (1556–1565), SM (1555–1567). See also the appendix for detailed maps, statistics, and tables.

approach to early modern mobility. This type of contract is, by definition⁴⁸, more suited for analysis transcending social differentiations as it does not focus almost exclusively on the merchant elite. As individuals, groups, and/or institutions vested their legal powers in their agent(s), a contract had to be stipulated in the form of a procura. Apart from the standardised inception and closure clauses⁴⁹, this kind of pact usually contained additional information about the social and geographical provenance of both stipulating parties. In addition, in many documents more or less precise descriptions of the assigned duties of the procurator were also included into the text. In combination, these clues allows us to reconstruct the mechanisms, origins, and destinations of early modern communication between the various social groups. The subsequent conclusions are drawn from an analysis of all the preserved procuratorial documents stipulated by Zadar's notaries between 1 January, 1540, and 31 December, 1569.

As the *Stato da mar* constituted a commonwealth-like entity sharing a variety of common characteristic traits⁵⁰, the “most convenient”⁵¹ method to analyse the socioeconomic activities of any given (Venetian) coastal town would be export licences issued by the respective port authorities. Lacking comprehensive and large-scale research of sixteenth-century export li-

⁴⁸ In the context of the present study, a *procura* describes the unilateral conferment of legal powers with or without explicit mandate as to the duties of the appointee (procurator). These powers, if not assigned for a specific task and/or period of time, would last until the death of one (or both) contracting parties. Julia Jungwirth, “Procurator,” in *Studienwörterbuch Rechtsgeschichte und Römisches Recht*, ed. Thomas Olechowski and Richard Gamauf (Vienna: Manz, 2006), 375, as well as “Procura,” Edizioni Giuridiche Simone Dizionari, accessed 22 July, 2010, <http://www.simone.it/newdiz/newdiz.php?action=view&dizionario=3&id=2426>.

For a general introduction to Roman Law, see James A. Brundage, “Law: Roman,” in *Medieval Italy: An Encyclopedia*, vol. 2, ed. Christopher Kleinheinz (New York and London: Routledge, 2004), 625–8, and see the given introductory literature pertaining to Roman Law and its medieval developments referenced there. In addition, see also the two-volume edition by Hermann Lange and Maximiliane Kriechbaum, in the context of the present study especially the overview of the Roman Law around 1500 in the second volume: Hermann Lange, “Römisches Recht um 1500,” in *Römisches Recht im Mittelalter: Die Kommentatoren*, ed. Hermann Lange and Maximiliane Kriechbaum (Munich: Beck, 2007), 893–986.

⁴⁹ See also the sources section in the introduction as well as the exemplary transcription of a procuratorial contract provided in the appendix.

⁵⁰ Oliver Schmitt speaks of a Venetian “Kommunikationsraum” (sphere of communication), defined as a geographical entity characterised by the exchange of individuals, goods, and ideas taking place in an order of magnitude large enough to be distinctively measured as compared to adjacent entities. Schmitt, “Südosteuropa als Kommunikationsraum,” 78–9, but see also Saint-Guillain and Schmitt, “Ägäis als Kommunikationsraum,” 217. It is worth noting that this approach does not (entirely) overlap with the ones this study is based upon, which has been done because of the lack of a useful English definition of “Kommunikationsraum” and because the author considers the term “commonwealth” of more use. For the term, see the reasons given above based on Obolensky, *Byzantine Commonwealth*, 2, 9, Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini*, 110–28, and Fowden, *Empire to Commonwealth*, 3–11, 100–37.

⁵¹ Again, Oliver Schmitt, who uses the term “am eingängigsten”, although in the context of the above-mentioned export licences due to their (relatively) easy accessibility. Schmitt, “Südosteuropa als Kommunikationsraum,” 82.

cences issued by the various harbour officials in Dalmatia⁵², the present study focuses on the procuratorial data instead.⁵³ These sources do not exclusively address economic overseas connections but focus more on the involved individuals and their areas of communication instead.⁵⁴ Apart from quantitative analysis, these sources render it possible to describe the networks⁵⁵ of mid–sixteenth century Zadar in a more intimate way. By analysing the assignments given to the procurators, the workings and range of activities becomes more transparent. For analysis purposes, the networks are categories into three different groups, according to the respective economic, legal, and social objectives of the procuratorial contracts. Any task described in these instruments dealing with real estate transactions, mercantile, and/or any other commercial endeavours, will be considered as an *economic* assignment. These include orders to buy, rent, or sell goods or property as well as mandates to invest money somewhere else other than Zadar. Involvements in judicial processes for any given reason, for instance the execution of a testament, representation in a court of law, or the appointment of a lawyer cover the *legal* fields of activities. Finally, as many assignments concern a variety of conflicts, often within the same family and/or clan, a *social* component to the analysis appears

⁵² Apart from Guillaume Saint-Guillain's work about the medieval Aegean, only a handful of works dedicated to the export licences in Dalmatia exist. The most recent (as of 2010) research into 16th-century Dalmatia based upon export licences and application of statistical methods to analyse them are Attia, "Wirtschaft der Stadt Trogir," Kolanović, "Šibenik (contralittere)," and Raukar, "Jadransko gospodarski sustavi."

For the Aegean in the Middle Ages, start with Guillaume Saint-Guillain, "L'Archipel des Seigneurs: Pouvoirs, société et insularité dans les Cyclades à l'époque de la domination latine, XIIIe–XVe siècles" (PhD thesis, Univ. of Paris I, 2003), Guillaume Saint-Guillain, "Amorgos au XIVe siècle: Une seigneurie insulaire entre Cyclades féodales et Crète vénétienne," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 94 (2001): 62–189, Guillaume Saint-Guillain, "Deux îles grecques au temps de l'Empire latin," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Moyen Âge* 113 (2001): 579–620.

⁵³ Of relevance not only to reconstruct the flow of communication but also because 536 out of 2,026 constituent parties transferring property (as in selling, conceding, and leasing real estate within Zadar's jurisdiction as well as selling property in Zadar proper) in the same time and 265 out of 2,026 recipient parties were not present at the respective date of stipulation. Instead of the latter, one (or more) legal representative(s) was (were) present; the timeframe is the same, i.e. 1 January, 1540, to 31 December, 1569. See also parts 3 and 4 as well as the appendix for additional details.

⁵⁴ This is of particular interest, as it may be safely assumed that there was more "communication" involved with procuratorial assignments as opposed to mercantile endeavours. In addition, little do we know about the functions and mechanisms of communication between nobles and commoners in the medieval and early modern periods. Neven Budak adds the caveat that until now most related research focused almost exclusively on the conflicts between the nobles and the patricians. Budak, "Urban élites," 194, for the reference pertaining to the social struggles, see Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje*, 223–5.

⁵⁵ Arié Malz assumes that society/public is constituted by means of communication, medieval society, though, generated a fragmented vertical (partial) public spaces. A modern society, on the other hand, breaks open these structures and renders horizontal communication possible, thus early modern realms had to cope with such increased communication, mobility, and 'networking'. Malz, "Frühneuzeitliche Modernisierung," 124.

For his remarks to Systems theory and Arié Malz's approaches used, follow Niklas Luhmann, *Die Gesellschaft der Gesellschaft*, vol. 1 (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1997), 190–315, as well as Niklas Luhmann, *Soziale Systeme: Grundriss einer allgemeinen Theorie* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1984), 41–4, 191–3.

to be necessary. In many cases, though, these three aspects cannot be separated from each other.

Another important issue is that these contracts are used to re-construct the networks on local, regional, and supra-regional levels. Following Arié Malz's network definitions⁵⁶, *local* means the interactions within the Jadertine jurisdiction, *regional* is used to denote activities within the Venetian double province of Albania–Dalmatia, while the term *supra-regional* describes relations to all other places.

Before turning to these issues, though, some facts about the source base need to be established. First, a general overview will be given; second, in order to establish the various networks, the geographical origins of both stipulating parties and the procurator's destinations will be discussed; third, the individuals, their activities, and the incentives involved will be described. As already mentioned, a grand total of 930 individual procuratorial contracts has been surveyed for the purposes of this part of the present study. For comparative reasons, these notarial acts have been divided into three equal periods of time, each covering a decade.

Table 1: Procuratorial Contracts, Overview (1540 to 1569)

	no. of acts ^a	% of total ^b	Latin ^c	'Italian' ^d	mixed ^e	♀ constituents ^f	♀ procurators ^g
1540s	225	24.2 %	225	–	–	51	5
1550s	330	35.5 %	329	1	–	83	6
1560s	375	40.3 %	347	27	1	102	9
	930	100 %	901	28	1	236	20

Sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JM (1545–1569), JMM (1540–1554), MAS (1544–1548), NC (1558–1567), ND (1540–1566), PB (1540–1569), PS (1545–1551), SB (1556–1565), SM (1555–1567). In all, 930 individual contracts were analysed.

Table 1 shows an overview of the procuratorial instruments upon which the subsequent analysis is based. See also the appendix for more details.

- (a) Lists the over-all numbers of procuratorial instruments for the three decades from 1 January, 1540, to 31 December, 1569.
- (b) Lists the share of the single decades relative to the over-all number in the respective decades.
- (c) Lists the over-all number of individual instruments written in Latin corresponding to the relative decade. The bottom line gives the total number of notarial acts written in Latin.
- (d) Lists the over-all number of individual instruments written in the Venetian variant of the 'Italian' language corresponding to the relative decade. The bottom line gives the total number of notarial acts written in this language.
- (e) Lists the over-all number of individual instruments written in both Latin and the Venetian variant of the 'Italian' language.
- (f) This gives the over-all numbers of female constituent parties for the three decades, measured by women being the only constituent party and/or additions like *mulier sui iuris*. The bottom line gives the over-all number of female constituent parties for the three decades.
- (g) This gives the over-all numbers of female constituent parties for the three decades, measured by women being the only procuratorial party and/or additions like *mulier sui iuris*. The bottom line gives the over-all number of female constituent parties for the three decades.

⁵⁶ Malz, "Frühneuzeitliche Modernisierung," 104–13.

It is clearly visible that the total number of procuratorial contracts increased by two thirds over these three decades of relative peace and stability along the Adriatic coast. While the total number of contracts is lower for the 1540s, this can be attributed to data loss, a fact documented by the lower numbers of procuratorial contracts, especially in the second half of the decade. Based on the numbers above, the average quantity of procuratorial contracts stipulated per decade was 310, a quarter of these were ordered by women.⁵⁷ It is interesting to note that roughly a quarter of all constituents were women – as opposed to only a meagre two per cent of the procurators.

As regards the stipulating parties, the following table shows the percentage of origins, based upon the above-mentioned 930 individual contracts. All of them were executed in Zadar by a total of fifteen notaries public between 1 January, 1540, and 31 December, 1569, and form the basis for the subsequent general analysis.

Table 1.1: Origins of the Contracting Parties, Overview (1540 to 1569)

	1540s ^a	1540s ^b	1550s ^a	1550s ^b	1560s ^a	1560s ^b
Zadar ¹	177	145	257	198	310	191
Albania–Dalmatia ²	16	33	24	38	18	51
Istria ³	2	1	3	4	–	5
Ionian ⁴	–	1	2	2	1	5
Italy ⁵	5	6	4	9	4	11
Venice ⁶	4	16	15	42	9	63
n/a ⁷	21	23	25	37	33	49

Sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JM (1545–1569), JMM (1540–1554), MAS (1544–1548), NC (1558–1567), ND (1540–1566), PB (1540–1569), PS (1545–1551), SB (1556–1565), SM (1555–1567). In all, 930 individual contracts were analysed.

Table 1.1 shows the over-all numbers of individuals of both stipulating parties in terms of the geographic provenance. The numbers above are the total numbers for the three decades, all locations below were found in the sources, are referred to with their present toponyms and, where-ever possible, the corresponding Italian toponyms of the then-Venetian possessions are given in brackets. See also the appendix for more details.

(a) Shaded areas indicate the constituent parties; (b) Not shaded areas indicate procuratorial parties.

(1) Zadar/Zara (Jadra) includes all areas under its jurisdiction, i.e. the city, its suburban dwellings, the medieval district, termed *Astareja/Astarea* (districtus), an entity roughly comprising the built-up present-day area), *Nin/Nona* (Nona), *Novigrad/Novegradi* (Novigradi), *Vrana/Aurana* (Vrana), and their subject territories as well as all islands subject to Zadar's jurisdiction.

(2) Albania–Dalmatia refers to places within the eponymous Venetian double-province including *Bar/Antivari* (Antibari), *Kotor/Cattaro* (Catharo), and *Perast/Perasto* (Perasto) in Albania as well as *Brač/La Brazza* (Brachia, Brazza), *Cres/Cherso* (Cherso), *Hvar/Lesina* (Pharo, Lesina), *Korčula/Corzola* (Chorzula, Corcira), *Krk/Veglia* (Vegla), *Omiš/Almissa* (Almissa), *Osor/Ossero* (Aussero), *Pag/Pago* (Pago), *Rab/Arbe* (Arbe), *Selce* (Selza), *Split/Spalato* (Spalato), *Šibenik/Sebenico* (Sibinico), *Trogir/Trau* (Tragurij), *Novi Vinodolski/Novi* (Vinodol), and *Vis/Lissa* (Lissa) in Dalmatia.

⁵⁷ A fact reinforced by the numbers involved – if one was to divide 310 by four, the result is 77.5, if one was to divide the total number of female constituents (236) by three, the result is 78.67. All percentages are the three-decade averages. See also the appendix for additional maps, statistics, and tables.

- (3) Istria refers to places within the Istrian peninsula including Buje/Buie (Buie), Buzet/Pinguente (Bussetto, Pinguenti), Koper/Capodistria (Justinopolis), Labin/Albona (Albona), Lobarika/Lavarigo (Lobarica), Motovun/Montona (Motovunschina), Poreč/Parenzo (Parentio), Pula/Pola (Pola), (*Serbar*), Sv Lovreč/San Lorenzo del Pasenatico (Sancti Lovrec), and Višnjan/Visignano (Visunato).
- (4) Ionia refers to places in the Ionian Sea including Corfu, Kefalonia/Cefalonia (Cephalonia), Nafpaktos/Lepanto (Nauplia), and Zakynthos/Jacinto (Hiacynthi/Zante).
- (5) Italy refers to places on the Apennine peninsula excluding the territories then–subject to Venice including Ancona, Alta Badia (alla Badia), Bari, Bologna, Castel Sant'Angelo, Ferrara, Genoa, (*Guasto*), Manfredonia, the Marche region, Milan, Parma, Pescara, Pisauro, Pontremoli, Rimini, Rivellino (near Ancona), Rome, Tarvisio, and Vicenza.
- (6) Venice refers to both the city proper and all those territories under Venetian suzerainty on the Italian mainland (terraferma) including Bergamo, Chioggia, Cividale del Friuli, Crema, Murano, San Grande del Friuli, Trecenta, and Udine.
- (7) n/a refers to all unidentified or not given locations, although it also includes origins of marginal appearance such as Rijeka (Fiume) or unspecified places like Croatia as well as Crete/Candia and Cyprus.

The first and most obvious conclusion is that four out of five constituents originated from within the Jadertine jurisdiction. It is worth taking a closer look at the origins of these individuals, institutions, and groups from this geographical–judicial provenance. As table 1.2 below clearly shows, the relative number of constituents residing in the city of Zadar increased by more than ten percent over the period under consideration. As the low and lowering number of procuratorial instruments initiated by persons residing outside the Jadertine city walls correspondingly declined over the entire period under consideration, this phenomenon must be viewed against the background of the constant insecurity in the dependent territories on the mainland. If one was to survey the period after the Cyprus War, this number is most likely to increase for two additional reasons: First, the Ottoman gains during this conflict were significant, including not only the immediate cause of the war (Cyprus) but also large swaths of territory formerly subject to Zadar's jurisdiction.⁵⁸ Second, the suburban dwellings outside the old town's city walls were razed in 1570 in order to make way for the construction of massive fortifications, thus additionally reducing the number of individuals residing outside Zadar's walls.⁵⁹

Finally, before turning the spotlight onto the individuals and their assignments, let us first focus on the destinations of these persons in order to get an idea of where the procurators were sent. The general underlying assumption is that large parts of economic, legal, and social activities were directed towards Venice, a long–established fact which, at least for some decades over the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, has been proven.

⁵⁸ This refers to the redrawn borders in Dalmatia, carried out by two missions between 1573 and 1576, giving the Ottomans large parts of lands in the all but immediate vicinity of Zadar's city walls, for instance, Zemunik (Zemonico) became Ottoman – today this place is home to Zadar's airport, only some 10 kilometres away from the Jadertine centre. Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 26–7, Traljić, "Tursko–mletačko susjedstvo," 418–9.

⁵⁹ Mocellin, "Città fortificata," 29–31.

Table 1.2: Origins of the Constituents, Zadar's jurisdiction (1540 to 1569)

	no. of acts ¹	Zadar ^a	Astarea ^b	Contado ^c	Nin ^d	Novigrad ^e	Islands ^f
1540s	225	135	5	6	14	4	13
1550s	330	229	1	11	13	1	2
1560s	375	268	2	14	11	10	5
	930	632	8	31	38	15	20

Sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JM (1545–1569), JMM (1540–1554), MAS (1544–1548), NC (1558–1567), ND (1540–1566), PB (1540–1569), PS (1545–1551), SB (1556–1565), SM (1555–1567). In all, 930 individual contracts were analysed.

Table 1.2 gives a detailed overview of the category ‘Zadar’ from table 1.1, showing the over-all numbers for the constituent parties originating from within Jadertine jurisdiction. All toponyms given below were found in the sources, the names assigned to the columns above are based upon the map of Zadar’s jurisdiction in Raukar, *Zadar u XV. stoljeću*, 46, and Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 223. All locations below were found in the sources, are referred to with their present toponyms and, where-ever possible, the corresponding Italian toponyms of the then-Venetian possessions are given in brackets. See also the appendix for more details.

(1) Lists the over-all numbers of procuratorial instruments for the three decades from 1 January, 1540, to 31 December, 1569.

(a) Zadar/Zara (Jadra) refers only to individuals, institutions, and/or groups residing within Zadar proper.

(b) Astareja/Astarea (districtus) refers to the territory of the medieval ager publicus, an entity comprising roughly the present-day built-up area of Zadar including the burgus/suburbs/borgo (suburban settlements), Bibinje/Bibigne (Bibigne), Diklo/Diclo (Diclo), Gladuša/Gladussa (Gladussa), and the Lazareto/Lazzaretto (lazaretum).

(c) Contado refers to a number of places in Zadar’s hinterlands into which, for practical purposes, one village originally located within the district of Vrana/Aurana (Vrana)*, has been put into this category, too. Hence, the Contado column thus includes Brda/Berdo (Berda), (*Chuchagl*), Dračevac/Malpaga (Drazevac), Jelsa/Gelsa (Jelsa), Kamenjani (Chamegnani), Miljačka/Migliazza (Migliacza), Mokro/Mocro (Mocro), Nadin/Nadino (Nadino), Opačić (Opatizaselo), Podi/Podi (Podi), Poškaljine (Poscagliana), (*Priticeuci*), Ražanac/Rasanze (Rasance), Rogovo/Rogovo (Rogovo), Smoković/Smòcovich (Smochoovich), Sukošan/Porto d’Oro, San Cassiano (Sancti Cassiani), Sv Filip i Jakov/Santi Filippo e Giacomo (Sancti Filippi et Jacobi), Tinj/Tino (Tinj)*, Tršci (Tersci), Turanj/Torretta, Turretta (Turretta), and Varikašane/Varicassane (Varichassane).

(d) Nin refers to its eponymous jurisdiction and, again for practical purposes, includes also the jurisdiction of Ljubač/Gliuba (Gliube), including Čakavci (Chiacavci), Čerinci (Cerinci), Ljubač/Gliuba (Gliube), Nin/Nona (Nona), Podvršje, Vrši/Verchè (Podverie), Privlaka/Brevilacqua (Bevilaqua), and Zaton/Zaton (Zaton).

(e) Novigrad refers to places in its eponymous jurisdiction and, for practical purposes, includes also Posedarje/Posedaria, including Rupalj, Koruplje (Corpuaglie), Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado), Posedarje/Posedaria (Posedaria), and Režane/Reggiane (Regiane).

(f) Islands denote those isles and their villages under Jadertine jurisdiction, those were Dugi Otok/Isola Grossa, Lunga, Iž/Eso (Eso, Exo), Molat/Melada (Melada), Pašman/Pasmano (Pasmano), Silba/Selve (Selba), and Ugljan/Ugliano (Ugliano).

This includes the economic and legal changes decreed by the Serenissima, directly impacting the economy in the Stato da mar. By enforcing Venice’s staple rights before selling the goods elsewhere, Venice was to be the prime destination in economic terms alone.⁶⁰ In the context of

⁶⁰ Oliver Schmitt acknowledges this and names the research available to as of spring 2010 to be only a “erste Skizze” (first/preliminary sketch). Schmitt, “Südosteuropa als Kommunikationsraum,” 100.

For instance, analysis of Split’s trading destinations over the last quarter of the 15th century suggests that slightly more than half of the ships leaving the harbour steered towards Venice, some fifteen percent navigated across the Adriatic, additional circa ten percent headed for the Hungarian-controlled Croatian coasts, and the rest – around twenty-three percent – of the trading occurred within Dalmatia. These numbers are based on the average percentages derived from Tomislav Raukar’s survey of Split’s trade in the last quarter of the 15th century, compiled in tables 3 and 4. Raukar, “Jadransko gospodarski sustavi,” 61–2.

This has been further confirmed by the findings of Sascha Attia in his M.A. thesis, who found that Venice made up for slightly more than half of all destinations given in circa 300 export licences issued in Trogir between 1566 and 1570. Attia, “Wirtschaft der Stadt Trogir,” 9–12, 65–9.

the present thesis, the most important thing appears to be not to confuse commercial ties with over-all communication. Since there exists practically no analysis about mid–sixteenth century trading routes, the present survey about procuratorial interactions is virtually all we have got.⁶¹

Table 2: Destinations of the Procuratorial Parties, Overview (1540 to 1569)

	Zadar ^a	Adriatic ^b	Istria ^c	Ionian ^d	Italy ^e	Venice ^f	rest, n/a ^g
1540s	72	40	2	2	9	38	62
1550s	75	59	9	1	10	82	94
1560s	58	78	6	9	19	110	95
	205	177	17	12	38	230	251

Sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JM (1545–1569), JMM (1540–1554), MAS (1544–1548), NC (1558–1567), ND (1540–1566), PB (1540–1569), PS (1545–1551), SB (1556–1565), SM (1555–1567). In all, 930 individual contracts were analysed.

Table 2 shows the over-all numbers for the various destinations of the procuratorial appointees as given in the notarial instruments for the three decades from 1 January, 1540, to 31 December, 1569. All toponyms given below were found in the sources, are referred to with their present toponyms and, if possible, the corresponding Italian toponyms of the then–Venetian possessions are given in brackets. See also the appendix for more details.

- (a) Zadar refers to all destinations within its jurisdiction including all minor districts (Nin, Novigrad, and Vrana), their respective subject territories as well as all the islands under Zadar's jurisdiction.
- (b) Adriatic refers to all places within the Venetian double–province of Albania and Dalmatia excluding Zadar/Zara (Jadra) and its jurisdiction including Bar/Antivari (Antibari), Perast/Perasto (Perasto), and Kotor/Cattaro (Catharo) in Albania and Brač/La Brazza (Brachia, Brazza), Cres/Cherso (Cherso), Hvar/Lesina (Pharo, Lesina), Korčula/Curzola (Chorzula, Corcira), Krk/Veglia (Vegla), Omiš/Almissa (Almissa), Osor/Ossero (Aussero), Pag/Pago (Pago), Rab/Arbe (Arbe), Split/Spalato (Spalato), Šibenik/Sebenico (Sibenico), Trogir/Trau (Tragurij), and Vis/Lissa (Lissa) in Dalmatia.
- (c) Istria refers to places within the Istrian peninsula including Buje/Buie (Buie), Buzet/Pinguente (Bussetto, Pinguenti), (*Chercla*), Dvigrad/Duecastelli (Duograschina), Koper/Capodistria (Justinopolis), Labin/Albona (Albona), Lobarika/Lavarigo (Lobarica), Motovun/Montona (Motovunschina), Poreč/Parenzo (Parentio), Pula/Pola (Pola), (*Serbar*), Sv Lovreč/San Lorenzo del Pasenatico (Sancti Lovrec), and Višnjan/Visignano (Visunato).
- (d) Ionian refers to places in the Ionian Sea including Kefalonia/Cefalonia (Cephalonia), Nafpaktos/Lepanto (Nauplia), and Zakynthos/Jacinto (Hiacynthi/Zante).
- (e) Italy refers to places on the Apennine peninsula excluding the territories then–subject to Venice including Ancona, Bari, Bologna, Ferrara, (*Guasto*), Manfredonia, the Marche region, Parma, Pescara, Pisauro, Pontremoli, Rimini, Rome, Tarvisio, and Vicenza.
- (f) Venice refers to both the city proper and all those territories under Venetian suzerainty on the Italian mainland (*terraferma*) including Bergamo, Cividale del Friuli, Crema, Padua, Trecenta, Udine, and Verona.
- (g) rest, n/a refers to all unidentified or not given locations, although it also includes origins of marginal appearance in the Levant (including Crete/Candia, Nafplio/Napoli di Romania, Nicosia, and island of Cyprus in general), Austria and Croatia (including Brixen/Bressanone (Brixia), Rijeka/Fiume, Trieste, and Zagreb), the Ottoman Empire (including Bosnia, Istanbul, Klis/Clissa, the Lučka županija [roughly corresponding to the eastern parts of present-day Zadar county and north-eastern parts of present-day Split–Knin county], Obrovac/Obrovazzo [Obrouazzo], Ostrovica/Ostrovizza [Ostroviza], and Shkodër/Scutari [Scutari]), and all contracts without clearly stated destinations and/or purposes, including the appointment of a procurator generalis (general procurator) but refers also to a number of unidentified destinations including places named Bascha, Besca, Cernie, Dobrica, Grigno, Parge, Planin, Poljica, Porto Fermi, St Petri Candidi, Tervini, Turrincalogi, and Hungary.

⁶¹ While these commercial connections were of large significance, it needs to be noted that communication describes more than the 'sum' of economic relations between two points, as, for instance, no-one would attempt to describe present-day interactions based exclusively on economic data. In addition, the term 'sum' must be treated with caution as it means 'sample', suggesting that the data modern research is based upon is often incomplete.

However, as table 2 clearly shows, neither the flow of goods and commodities nor analysis of procuratorial data alone could be possibly considered representative in terms of areas and ranges of communication. The data available is only fragmentary and there is still a lot of work to be conducted in this particular field of research. It is safe to state that Venice, on average, for the above-stated variety of reasons, made up roughly a quarter of all procuratorial destinations *that we know of*. The caveat needs to be added to address the issue of unofficial voyages of both economic and procuratorial incentives within the *Stato da mar* in general and its Adriatic components in particular.⁶²

Table 2.1: Procuratorial Destinations in the Adriatic (1540 to 1569)

destinations	no. of acts ^a	greater area ^b
Krk/Veglia	17	Kvarner Gulf
Cres, Osor ¹	8	Kvarner Gulf
Rab/Arbe	19	Kvarner Gulf
Pag/Pago	18	Central Dalmatia
Zadar/Zara	205	Central Dalmatia
Šibenik/Sebenico	49	Central Dalmatia
Trogir/Trau	14	Southern Dalmatia
Split/Spalato, Omiš/Almissa ²	9	Southern Dalmatia
Brač/La Brazza, Hvar/Lesina, Vis/Lissa ³	27	Southern Dalmatia
Korčula/Curzola	7	Southern Dalmatia
Albania ⁴	9	Albania Veneta
	382	

Sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JM (1545–1569), JMM (1540–1554), MAS (1544–1548), NC (1558–1567), ND (1540–1566), PB (1540–1569), PS (1545–1551), SB (1556–1565), SM (1555–1567). In all, 930 individual contracts were analysed.

Table 2.1 shows the over-all numbers of procurators with destinations within the Venetian double-province of Albania and Dalmatia from 1 January, 1540, to 31 December, 1569. All toponyms given below were found in the sources. See also the appendix for more details.

- (a) Lists the over-all numbers of notarial acts in which the procuratorial appointees were sent to the referred destinations, their total number is 382 out of the 930 procuratorial instruments.
- (b) Lists the greater areas to which the referred-to places belong. Destinations within the Kvarnerski zaljev/ Golfo del Quarnero area were mentioned 44 times, destinations in Central Dalmatia were mentioned 272 times, and destinations in Southern Dalmatia appeared 57 times.
- (1) Cres refers to the island of Cres/Cherso (Cherso) and the city of Osor/Ossero (Aussero) on the same island.
- (2) Split/Spalato, Omiš/Almissa refer to the city of Split/Spalato (Spalato), mentioned 6 times, and the 3 times the neighbouring town of Omiš/Almissa (Almissa) was mentioned.
- (3) Brač/La Brazza (Brachia, Brazza), Hvar/Lesina (Pharo, Lesina), Vis/Lissa (Lissa) refer to the respective eponymous islands and have been combined for practical purposes (partially commonly referred to as destination) and for geographical reasons. Brač was mentioned individually 6 times, Hvar 17 times, and all three islands were mentioned 4 times.

⁶² This refers to areas which Oliver Schmitt assumed to have been home to a more dense regional intensity of communication, i.e. the areas along the Dalmatian coast extending roughly from Zadar to Šibenik to Split or between Kotor and Durrës. While the Albanian parts of this area are not the topic of the present study, the central Dalmatian components can be addressed – and the data above suggests that the two main areas need to slightly be refined. Schmitt, “Südosteuropa als Kommunikationsraum,” 85.

- (4) Albania Veneta refers to the Venetian possessions in Albania, namely the cities of Bar/Antivari (Antibari), Kotor/Cattaro (Catharo), and Perast/Perasto (Perasto). Kotor was mentioned 7 times as the destination and the other two places were mentioned only once each.

Consequently, the Albanian and Dalmatian components of the Venetian empire beg further elaboration. The data derived from the procuratorial instruments is very clear that while for practical purposes based upon the fact that these two parts formed one double province as seen from St Mark's Square, the actual percentage of Albanian destinations is only slightly higher than five percent. Thus the Dalmatian cities as given in table 2 make up for more than ninety percent of all the confirmed target locations, deserving a more detailed overview in and of themselves.

As table 2.1 indicates, the procuratorial data suggests only additional places of more or less interest to the constituent parties along the entire Dalmatian coastline albeit with some regional differences. Based upon the data given above, all places named north of Zadar attracted a combined share of 16.2 %, the corresponding percentage for Šibenik and its territory is 12.8 %, and all places south of the latter the remaining 17.3 % of all procuratorial destinations. The conclusion is that the cities and territories of Zadar and Šibenik were more intensely intertwined than all other parts of Venice's Adriatic possessions. If we were to exclude Zadar from the calculations above into the same geographical differentiations of table 2.1 above, this assumption becomes even more striking. The two central Dalmatian cities made up around two thirds of all procuratorial destinations (66.5 %). Based upon the outlined distinctions between the parts north of Zadar and south of Šibenik, these two areas received roughly the same amount of procurators, 16.2 % for all of the places listed above in the category Kvarner Gulf and 17.3 % for all of those in the category Southern Dalmatia. The numbers and percentages above suggest a certain centre of gravity in terms of connectivity and communication existed in central Dalmatia.

Before turning the spotlight onto the stipulating individuals, further elaboration on the duties of the procuratorial parties is required in order to understand their interactions. As table 2.1 describes, roughly a quarter⁶³ of all instruments issued did not include any hints as to assignments. As these mandates were rather different, a short overview of them on the basis of some examples will be given, following roughly the above-mentioned division into economic, legal, and social intentions behind the appointments of the procurator(s).

⁶³ The three-decade average is 24.5 %, derived from table 2.

3.3. Economic, Legal, and Social Motivations

The first large group of procuratorial duties describe *economic* activities and transcend all social strata as well as both geographical origins and destinations. The most ubiquitous assignment of them all was to task the procurator recover outstanding sums of money, as the ensuing examples amply demonstrate. We learn of artisans who moved someplace else and tasked the assignee to sell real estate property in constituent's former city of residence. For instance, when "magister Simon Grubissich quondam Antonii de Jadra calafatus (master-caulker, the author) qondam Antonij de Jadra" who moved to Chioggia and appointed "magistro Martino", referred to as "sutor" (master-cobbler), to sell Simon's house, constructed of both stone as well as wood and located in the southern parts of Zadar's old town, named "contrata fabrorum" (blacksmiths' parish).⁶⁴ Basically the same procedure, though in the opposite direction, happened when "magister Joannes Galeacij de Venetiis Marangonus (master-oarsmaker, the author) habitator Jadre" tasked "Franciscum quondam Demetrij Eugenico de Nauplio" (Nafplion/Napoli di Romania) to rent Johannes's house in Venice's St Antony parish.⁶⁵

What is interesting to note, though, is the fact that almost all procuratorial contracts involving military personnel and/or their spouses as the constituent parties have an economic incentive in common: to have the procurator(s) collect the outstanding sold payments. This was an incentive transcending all social and geographical boundaries, as there were enlisted oarsmen like "Joannes Durcich de Aussero" (Osor) who appointed "Reverendum dominum Georgium Matassouich, Archipresbyterum ruralem doecesis Nonensis" (archpriest of the rural diocese of Nin), to recover the still-outstanding payments for his services on the bireme of "celeberrimum dominum Georgium Pisani dignissimi capitum Birremium" – which ended more than a year before.⁶⁶ And then there was "dona Catherina quondam Magnifici equitis domini Georgij Rhenesi, et uxor Magnifici equitis domini Thomasij Luxi, Capitanaei equitum ad custodiam Jadre" (cavalry commander), who, on behalf of and with her husband's licence, appointed an absent Venetian citizen, "spectabilem dominum Bartholomeum Negrum", to finally collect

⁶⁴ Cf. PB I, 1, 8, f3v/f4r, stipulated on 28 May, 1541.

⁶⁵ Cf. JM I, 4, f83r, stipulated on 6 January, 1556.

In addition, this contract is interesting because, as Lovorka Čoralić stresses, this craft was deemed important enough by Venice to traditionally have it performed by her expatriate citizens. Lovorka Čoralić, "The Ragusans in Venice from the Thirteenth to the Eighteenth Century," *Dubrovnik Annals* 3 (1999): 17 (13–40).

⁶⁶ The contract was stipulated in mid-October of 1557 and the instrument refers to the demobilisation of Johannes on 30 January, 1556, the relevant text passage reads as follows: "Personaliter constituit Joannes Durcich de Aussero alias ut dixit desserviens pro Galeotta super birremi per celeberrimum dominum Georgium Pisani dignissimi capitum Birremium ut in licentia desuper facta, data in portu Jadra diei xxx Januarij 1556 (...)." Cf. SB I, 1, 2, f78v, stipulated on 15 October, 1557.

Thomasius's sold of 25 ducats per annum – from the fiscal chamber of Crete.⁶⁷ But in most other cases, the reasons for appointing a procurator to collect outstanding money appear to be as mundane as another case from autumn 1556 shows. Also, “Stephanus Goycich macellator habitator” (butcher and resident) of Zadar sold a certain quantity of pork and now needed a procurator “pro eo exigendum et recuperandum ab Andrea dicto del Conte cive Vegle et ser Francisco Baduario, libras quinquaginta none solidorum octo parvorum.” The two buyers did not pay the butcher by then, so Stephanus assigned the task to collect all outstanding money owed “pro resto et saldo pretij carnis porcina” to “Reverendum patrem Fratrem Stephanum, ministrum provinciae fratrum minorum tertij ordinis Sancti Franciscj de observantia” (minister for the Dalmatian province of the Third Order Regulars) as he was already on his way to the island of Krk (Veglia).⁶⁸

As for *legal* aspects of procuratorial duties, the same basic principle holds true – the reasons for the appointment of a procurator range from gubernatorial aspects after the death of one or both parents to succession disputes among brothers, neighbours, and otherwise related individuals to representation in processes. The first case, the appointment of one or more legal guardians for children not yet of legal age⁶⁹ usually took place in the constituent's testament, however, it was possible to substitute the tutor(s) and appoint someone else. As in some cases where, not unlike today, differences arose between the heirs as to who inherits most, these

⁶⁷ Bartholomaeus was tasked to “ad nomine dicte domine constituentis et pro ea exigendum elleuandum et recuperandum a dicta Camera Cretae omnem et quantacumque pecuniarum summam et quantitatem eiudem domini constituenti debitam ratione dictae provisionis suo pro annis decursis (...)” Cf. SB I, 1, 2, f74v, stipulated on 10 September, 1557.

⁶⁸ Frater Stephanus was already “modo commorandum in insula Vegle in monasterio Sanctae Mariae de Cauo.” Cf. SB I, 1, 1, f7r, stipulated on 7 November, 1557.

⁶⁹ Zadar's communal statutes distinguish between a couple of age barriers. Infants were considered minor to seven years, all female children under twelve and all male children under fourteen years were required to have (at least) one legal guardian. The necessity of tutorship was relinquished only once the adolescents of both sexes completed their twentieth year. See Lib II., tit. IV, cap. 26: “Per quas personas infantes, ed est minores septem annis, debeant se tueri et in iudiciis placitare,” cap. 27: “Per quas personas masculus maior quattuordecim annis et femina maior duodecim annis, minores tamen viginti annis debeant se tueri et in iudiciis placitare.” Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 146–8.

In addition, some cases involved procurators to be dispatched posthumously by the legal guardians of underage children to collect the still-outstanding payments for the military services rendered by the father. This was, for instance, the case when “Mattheus, Catherina, et Hellena filij quondam Simonis Panoeuich quondam Matthei seu Mathuli de Insula Exo (Iž/Eso, the author) districtus Jadre facientes nominibus suis proprijs et vice ac nomine Georgij et Michaelis fratrum suorum in minori aetate existentium” appointed “celeberrimum dominum Johannem Franciscum Salomono quondam celeberrimi domini Laurentii patritium venetum.” He was to travel to Venice and collect the last sold payments – for their late father's service as oarsman “super Trireme supracomito Magnifico domino Manfiedo Justiniano.” Cf. DC I, 1, 13, f13v/f14r, stipulated on 28 October, 1565.

Also, in the context of the referenced example, executors were required by law to transact on behalf of underage heirs. See Lib. II, tit. IV, cap. 30: “Quod fideicommissarius generalis vel specialis relictus per testatorem vel creatus per Curiam alicui minori annis potest agere et in placitis respondere.” Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 150.

conflicts even lead to prolonged legal proceedings decades later.⁷⁰ But these cases, although they stand out, were rather uncommon in sixteenth-century Zadar because the over-all populace was not very wealthy. As a consequence, legal representations aimed at an arbitration settlement, or in a court of law, are the predominant reason for assigning procuratorial powers in this category.

The reasons range from (admittedly few) high-profile homicide cases⁷¹ to more common causes. In some cases differences arose between next-of-kin caused by incomplete payment of dowry bequests, as the case of “dominus Hieronymus de Gallellis quondam domini Simonis nobilis Jadrensis” clearly demonstrates. On at least three different occasions over the course of ten months he appointed procurators in order to obtain the still outstanding sum of 15 ducats which he should have obtained from his wife’s kinsmen “domino Hieronymo de Nimira alias Polimulcich nobilis arbensis” (Rab).⁷² In both examples and all comparable related issues like inhabitants of an island under Zadar’s jurisdiction petitioning their landlord

⁷⁰ In the late 15th century, a young Jadertine nobleman married the daughter of another aristocratic family, bequeathing to his bride a certain amount of money, mobile goods, and a possession off the coast on which some 50 to 60-strong herd of livestock is kept. More than half a century later, a legal feud arose between the second and third generation of heirs from both families – cousins once and twice removed – over the restitution of said dowry. In 1561, this was finally going to be resolved as all but one heir had died without legitimate offspring – based on testaments, restitution contracts, Q&As from people dwelling on the afore-mentioned island, and other relevant documentation, in all, two entire books of these legal proceedings were preserved, cf. SM I, 1, books 3 and 4.

⁷¹ “Spectabilis dominus Georgius ab Aquila nobilis brachiensis” (of Brač/La Brazza) appointed “spectabilem ser Hieronymum de Laurentijs Civem Jadram”, to handle the constituent’s agendas in the process against “Hieronymum de Negroponte” who (allegedly) killed Georgius’s next-of-kin, “quondam domini Stephani ab Aquila”. The (suspected) murderer was taken into custody by the “capitaneus generalis maris” (captain-general) in Split, the process itself was to take place in Šibenik. Cf. ND I, 2, 5, f62r/f62v, stipulated on 1 July, 1566. In addition, it is worth pointing out that Hieronymus de Laurentijs is named explicitly – along with other important non-nobles – in the report by Pauli Justininani, former captain of Zadar, upon his return to Venice on 13 February, 1553: “Simon Bertonichio, il capitano Peregrin de Marco, Francesco de Ventura, Zuan Rimondin, Hierolimo de Lorenzi et altri simili (...)”. Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 3, 52.

⁷² Admittedly, Hieronymus appointed always the same individual, “dominum Joannem Franciscum de Dominis nobilem Jadram, et arbensis”, described as noble of both Zadar and Rab, on all three occasions. Cf. ND I, 2, 3, f18r, stipulated on 14 November, 1564, ND I, 2, 3, f27r, stipulated on 8 January, 1565, and ND I, 2, 4, f42v/f43r, stipulated on 3 September, 1565.

in front of the count⁷³ or appointing a representative for a judicial process, the main structural element combining them is that they were dealt with usually by local procurators in Zadar or elsewhere in Dalmatia.

This picture changed the moment the procurator had to conduct her or his appointment “in alma civitate Venetiarum.”⁷⁴ Once the destination was the capital of the Republic of St Mark, the duties were almost exclusively assigned to Venetian patricians, Dalmatian nobles, individuals with judicial knowledge – attorneys, lawyers, solicitors –, and/or a combination thereof.⁷⁵ These cases included various undefined legal proceedings in Venice, but also high-

⁷³ This usually happened in case the landlord attempted to levy excess duties on the labourers farming the property rented out, as evidenced by this example from the mid-1560s: “Slade Panoeuich (...) judex possobe ville Sancti Philippi et Jacobi” (Sv Filip i Jakov), representing himself and the other inhabitants of the village, stated that while the rental contract previews 12 kvart of corn (circa 250 litres) as duties to be delivered “in die Sancti Jacobi de mense Julij” (i.e. 29 July) which, according to Slade, will not be possible. Since Slade and his fellow inhabitants state this at the beginning of April, either the upcoming harvest would not allow such large duties or the landlord increased the the charges. Consequently, the inhabitants of Sv Filip i Jakov appoint “Excellens dominus Vincentius Merula”, a doctor of both laws, to act on their behalf and “deffendere omnes causas dicti (...) communis.” Cf. ND I, 2, 3, f50v, stipulated on 2 April, 1565.

The term “judex possobe” refers to the rural organisation in Zadar’s hinterland, meaning that Slade was the judge or governor of a *posoba* (village assembly) and its surrounding lands. After the Venetian re-acquisition of Dalmatia in 1409, the new suzerains showed certain amounts of respect for these medieval institutions of rural autonomy. While the office of the judge itself was unpaid, in some cases territorial privileges could be obtained, its holder was exempt from military service. After renewed hostilities broke out between the Ottomans and the Venetians in 1537, these judges were required to be “uno di piu vecchi della ditta villa” or, at least, 40 years old and could be obliged to unpaid public works. A *posoba* meant one village assembly, while *liga* referred to the community of a number of village assemblies, which were also granted special privileges by Doge Francesco Foscari in 1455. See Ref., cap. 137: “Forma privilegiorum ligarum comitatus Iadrae,” and Ref., cap. 153: “De aetate iudicum villarum.” Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 626–32, 664–6.

For the relevant references in the secondary literature, see Pederin, *Mletačka uprava*, 21, Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 49, as well as Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 164–83, who gives a rather detailed overview of the rural organisation in the 16th and 17th centuries, and O’Connell, *Men of Empire*, 81–4, putting the Dalmatian aspects into the wider context of the Stato da mar as a whole.

⁷⁴ In the protocols of the Jadertine notaries, the term *alma* (acclaimed, affectionate, benign, gracious) is attributed to two cities only, Venice and Rome. Additional differentiation between the two places bearing this honorific was bestowed by the words used for the cities itself: Venice occasionally was only a *civitas* (in the sense of a self-governing and free city-state) and at times and *urbs* (city) which was typically reserved for Rome. For a reference to the former, cf. PB I, 1, 7, f40r/f40v, stipulated on 1 January, 1540, for a reference to latter, cf. JMM I, 2, 3, f18r–f19r, stipulated on 6 July, 1542.

⁷⁵ Almost, not always: One document described that in May or June 1562, a *marciliana* was shipwrecked “nel porto di Santa Mariae de Melada (Molat, the author) Isola della Giurisdittione di questa città”, an islet under Jadertine jurisdiction. It left four people dead, seven injured, and we learn also of parts of the cargo – “carica di olij con Turchi 7.” As a consequence, four individuals from Molat appoint two of their fellow sailors to represent them all in Venice in a court of law. Cf. SM, I, 1, 9, stipulated on 12 June, 1562.

Marciliana describes a type of ship with shallow draught, mainly used for seafaring in coastal waters. In the Adriatic, the *marciliana* was used mainly for shipping along the coasts and/or in the canals and rivers of the Terraferma. While definitive measures of its tonnage are not available, it is commonly agreed upon that this type of ship averaged between 72 and 179 metric tonnes. Jean-Claude Hocquet, *Venise et la mer, Xlle–XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2006), 154, 190, Frederic C. Lane, “Venetian Shipping during the Commercial Revolution,” in *Trade in the Pre-Modern Era, 1400–1700*, vol. 1, ed. Douglas A. Irving (Cheltenham: Elgar, 1996), 252 (251–71).

profile investigations before the Quarantia (court of appeals)⁷⁶ or other courts of law. In general, it needs to be added that many individuals tasked with legal representation, especially those taking place in Venice, were referred to as some kind of specialist: *advocatus* (advocate, barrister), *causidicus* (attorney), *leges utriusque doctor* (doctor of both laws, i.e. civil and Canon law), or *solicitor* (solicitor).

As for the *social* motivation behind the appointment of procurators, these cover a wide range of issues and, on quite many occasions, also transcend the two other categories depicted above as the boundaries in-between were often blurry and involved a wide range of different reasons. Among those, there were issues pertaining to clientele or family relations, for instance the appointment of a high-profile procurator to attend the baptism of a Venetian patrician's child in Venice, as happened in February of 1558. "*Spectabilis dominus Franciscus Thomaseus Civis Jadre*", a notary public in Zadar, sought representatives who would act as substitutes for him "*ad Sacrum baptismatis fontem filiolum vel filiolum nascitutum et nascituram celeberrimi domini Marci Antonij Cornelij Patritij Veneti et eius celeberrima uxoris*." The appointees were consequently of appropriate social posture and/or strata – "*Magnificum dominum Michaellem Fuscarenno (Foscari, the author) Magnifici domini Hieronimi nobilem Venetiarum*", bearing one of Venice's more prominent names, the other was "*dominum Christophorum de Nassis*", a renown Jadertine noble.⁷⁷ Other cases involved the returning of family members deceased elsewhere in order to (presumably) bury them at home. Not all of these cases were as spectacular as the posthumous voyage of "*quondam nobilis viri domini Theodosij*"⁷⁸, brother of "*strenuus et nobilis vir Jadrensis dominus Simon de Begna quondam viri nobilis domini Christophori*." A descendent of one Zadar's aristocratic families, Theodosius was "*serviens apud Illustrissimum dominum Joannem Baptistam Gastaldum olim capitum Generalis Exercitus Serenissimi Regis Ungarie*" (gastald of the former captain-general of the Hungarian army, the author), *In quibus partibus est vita functus*." As the heir of his late

⁷⁶ For instance, a case involving "*domini Franciscus, Darius et Baldus filij quondam domini Joannis de Pechiaro, nec non dominus Franciscus de Pechiaro quondam Francisci, Nobiles Jadre*", who sought to appeal the decision concerning the succession in both mobile and immobile goods from some (un-named) next-of-kin who bequeathed most of his worldly goods "*ad favorem dominarum Marchette, Slave, et Gasparine de Pechiaris*." In autumn 1556, the brothers then appointed "*dominum Camillum de Pechiaro fratrem ipsorum dominorum Francisci, Darij et Baldi*" to be their procurator and appeal the succession decision "*per Excellentem Consilium xxxxta*" (Quarantia) in Venice. Cf. JM I, 4, f124r, stipulated on 15 October, 1556.

⁷⁷ Cf. SB I, 1, 2, f95r, stipulated on 2 February, 1558.

⁷⁸ At the first mentioning of the late Theodosius, the document states he was "*ut dixit nuncupatum Joannes Croatus*" – called and known under the name of John the Croat while serving with the Hungarian army. Cf. ND I, 2, 1, f13r–f14r, stipulated on 8 January, 1556.

brother, Simon appointed no-one less than “Nobilem virum dominum Baptistam Besalium de Porto Buffaleta” (Portobuffolè, the author), familiarem Celeberrimi domini Paulj Theupuli (Tiepolo, the author) dignissimi oratoris Serenissimi Dominj veneti apud Regem Romanorum” (ambassador/orator of the Venetian Doge to the King of the Romans). Not only should the body be brought back home to Zadar – but also whatever amount of goods and money the late Theodosius possessed.⁷⁹ Many other cases involving the returning of a deceased family member led to disputes among the living as to how to divide the mobile and immobile possessions of the dead – and frequently to the appointment of a procurator to represent one or another side against each other – often involving quarrels between next-of-kin in a court of law.

One final aspect of the procuratorial instruments deserves also notice, and that is the activities the Church.⁸⁰ The Jadertine archbishop as well as the bishopric of Nin were usually reserved for members of the Venetian patricians of lower status and rank⁸¹, while benefices of less than 60 ducats of value could be given to the citizens of the subject dominions.⁸²

In general, these two ecclesiastical dignitaries – as their secular counterparts (count, captain) – do not appear in many of the instruments. Exceptions, however, did occur, usually when these individuals were newly-appointed. This was, for instance, the case in late 1556. “Dominus presbyter Sanctus de Sanctis Canonicus Jadre, et dominus Joannes Raimundinus Civis Jadre” bestowed procuratorial powers unto “Reverendum in Christo Patrem et dominum dominum Mutium Calino”, then newly-appointed to Zadar’s archbishopric see, to acquire outstanding payments “a Reverendo Auditore camere apostolice” (Apostolic Chamber) in Rome.⁸³

⁷⁹ Baptista was appointed “specialiter et expresse ad nomen ipsius domini Constituentis exigendum, percipiendum et recuperandum omnes, et quascumque Sumas, et quantitates denariorum tantum, quas dictus quondam dominus Theodosius eius frater vocatus Joannes Croatus ut supra debebat, et nunc ipse dominus Constituens uti eius frater, et heres habere debet a quibuscumque personis tam publicis tamquam privatis (...).” Cf. ND I, 2, 1, f13r–f14r, stipulated on 8 January, 1556.

⁸⁰ Neven Budak points out that until now research into clergy-related issues stopped short of the present-day borders, effectively preventing inclusive analysis of the nobility’s ties with as well as their roles in the Church. Budak, “Urban élites,” 195–6.

⁸¹ Both archbishoprics and bishoprics throughout the entirety of Venice’s dominions were, in general, reserved for the Republics patricians. As write Benjamin Arbel and Ivan Pederin, this was standard policy after its formal institution by the Venetian Senate in 1423. Arbel, “Colonie d’oltremare,” 975, and Pederin, “Verwaltung Dalmatiens,” 143.

For comparative reasons, it is worth noting that this policy was expanded to Cyprus after its annexation in the late 1480s. Hill, *Cyprus: The Frankish Period*, 873.

⁸² Arbel, “Colonie d’oltremare,” 975.

⁸³ The term used in the contract is “Mutium Calino electum archiepiscopum Jadre dignissimum”, who was absent at the time of stipulation, suggesting that he was either on the way to Rome or already there. Cf. JM I, 4, f128v, stipulated on 3 November, 1556.

Another example involved the designated bishop of Nin. Upon his appointment, the new ecclesiastical dignitaries travelled to their sees, often leaving behind their former sinecures. This happened to “Reverendus in Christo Patrem et dominum dominus Marcus Lauredanus (Loredan, the author) Dei et Apostoli sedis gratia episcopus Nonensis“, who, after his designation as the new bishop of Nin in late 1562 or early 1563, was appointed procurator “a Reverendo domino Francisco Superantio Abbate Sancti Michaelis de monte“ on 5 October, 1554. Francisco then moved on to substitute Marcus’s procuratorial powers with those of “dominum Hieronymum de Bellis clericum Veronensis dioecesis“ to take care of legal issues of the temporal possessions of the abbey within Zadar’s jurisdiction. As the notarial instrument subsequently noted, there were problems with the ducal letters referring to these parcels of lands the appointees mandate to “praesentandum celeberrimo domini Rectori Jadra.“⁸⁴ Other than the two examples above, there is little evidence that these dignitaries engaged in many mundane and/or secular activities. The notable exception to this, however, is the fact that both sees commanded significant amounts of landed property, that is, income, which at times needed to be taken care of (cf. part 3). The Jadertine archbishopric even possessed some property on the neighbouring island of Pag which was auctioned off to the highest-bidder for tax farming purposes.⁸⁵

3.4. Ecclesiastical Activities

Another field of ecclesiastical activity was the existence of a number of monasteries Zadar, run by the Ordo Sancti Benedicti (Order of St Benedict or OSB), the Ordo Praedicatorum (Order of Preachers or OP, also known as the Dominican Order), and the Ordo Fratrum Mino-

⁸⁴ Initially, Francisco Superantio invested the procuratorial powers on Marcus Lauredanus “ad capiendum, et intrandam possessionem specialem, et temporalem dicta Abbatia et propterea praesentandum celeberrimo domino Rectori Jadra cui diriguntur litteras Ducales super eodem possessionum (...).“ Most likely, this was done because the mentioned property was located within Zadar’s jurisdiction. Cf. SB I, 1, 6, f488r/f488v, stipulated on 12 February, 1565.

⁸⁵ Tax-farming was originally an ancient practice employed by Rome and, although modified, used during the Middle Ages by, inter alia, the Byzantine Empire and the Republic of Venice. In the latter’s case, it was mostly used to auction off parts of the cargo compartment of the Serenissima’s state-run convoys. For these aspects, see Stöckly, *Système de l’Incanto*, 39–89.

In the above-referenced context, the term refers to the practice of conceding and/or renting out property (which, in turn was transmissible to third parties) for a fixed annual sum of money and/or payment in kind. The owner of the parcel of land then transferred her or his rights to the income of the property to the renting party (or, subsequently, the renting party to the third party). The latter could keep all income gained from the rented property minus the agreed-upon rental fees and the Church’s tithes. For good starting points into this particular matter, see Lane, *Maritime Republic*, 137–52, Doumerc, “Dominio del mare,” 113–38, Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 143, and Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 64.

rum (Order of Friars Minor or OSF, also known as Franciscans).⁸⁶ A document from autumn of 1562 lists these eight convents as follows:

Table 3: Convents in Zadar, circa 1550

convent ^a	monastical order	gender	social strata	abbess/priora ^b
Sancti Grisogoni (Sv Krševan)	Ordo Sancti Benedicti OSB, Order of St Benedict	male		
Sanctae Mariae (Sv Marije)	Ordo Sancti Benedicti OSB, Order of St Benedict	female	nobility only	Reverenda domina Antonella Galella
Sancti Dominici (Sv Dominik)	Ordo Praedicatorum OP, Order of Preachers	male		
Sanctae Catherinae (Sv Katerine)	Ordo Praedicatorum OP, Order of Preachers	female		
Sancti Demetrii (Sv Dmitrije)	Ordo Praedicatorum OP, Order of Preachers	female	nobility only	Reverenda domina sor Coliza Grisogona
Sancti Francisci (Sv Frane)	Ordo Fratrum Minorum Order of Friars Minor	male		
Sancti Nicolai (Sv Nikola)	Ordo Sanctae Clarae OSC, Poor Clare Sisters	female	nobility only	Reverenda domina sor Maria Grisogona
Sanctae Marcellae (Sv Marcelle)	Ordo Sanctae Clarae OSC, Poor Clare Sisters	female		
Sancti Francisci (Sv Frane)	Tertius Ordinis St Francisci TSF, Third Order Regulars			

Source: DAZd, SZB, SB I, 1, 6, f390r/f390v, stipulated on 26 October, 1562.

Table 3 shows the nine congregations present in Zadar in the 16th century, the listing is alphabetical in terms of the names of the patron Saints, i.e. Benedictines, Dominicans, and Franciscans. The three additional columns provide additional information such as the gender of the cloistral population and their social status.

(a) Lists Zadar's convents with their Croatian expressions in brackets.

(b) In three cases – the aristocratic convents – the name of the abbess (for the Benedictine and Dominican monastery) or priora (of the Poor Clares) according to SB I, 1, 6, f390r/f390v, stipulated on 26 October, 1562, is given. Judging from the information provided for in the document, then the Benedictine nunnery had 24 members, while both the Dominican and Franciscan convents had 16 members each.

All of these convents, with the exception of the Third Order Regulars, regularly appointed procurators for a variety of reasons. Most commonly, a procurator generalis was appointed, and in almost all cases, this duty fell to one or more Jadertine noblemen. As these convents also commanded benefices and were thus engaged in renting out their properties, this was among the most important duties of the procurator. As a small sample of six procuratorial contracts commissioned by the convents of St Demetrius OP and St Mary OSB indicates that, in five out of six surveyed cases, the duties of the procurator generalis fell to a Jadertine

⁸⁶ It was only “exceptionally”, writes Neven Budak, that the Church and its activities received much scholarly attention over the past decades. Established since the early Middle Ages, the largest traditional congregation were the Benedictines, the male convent of St Chrysogonus and the nobles-only nunnery of St Mary. And while the 14th century saw a relative decline of the Benedictine's influence against a contemporaneous ascent of the Dominicans and Franciscans, the abbot of the convent of St Chrysogonus (and, of course, his female counterpart, too) still commanded considerable influence. Budak, “Urban élites,” 188.

nobleman.⁸⁷ In the sixth case, however, the individual under consideration, the procuratorial duties were bestowed upon “ser Hieronymum Bassanum causidicum Jadrensis“, an attorney/barrister. There is additional evidence, though, that both he and his brother, “dominus Petrus Bassano Civis, et Notarius Jadra“, who at times was Zadar’s chancellor and a notary public, commanded a social posture high enough to satisfy the representative needs of the two convents.⁸⁸

It is also worth noting that these two monasteries were reserved exclusively for noblewomen, thus the appointment of fellow aristocrats appears to be very much understandable by virtue of personal acquaintance, kinship ties – some more or less close next-of-kin of the procurators were most certainly under the noble nuns⁸⁹ –, and/or social norms. The assumption of procuratorial powers by Hieronymus Bassanus, on the other hand, may be explained by his social standing, most likely derived from his legal expertise, probably enhanced by the social postures and roles of both his brother Petrus and their father, “quondam domino Marco Antonio de Bassano“, who was also an attorney working in Zadar.⁹⁰ On a final note, all three – Marcus Antonius and his two sons – were referred to as dominus (lord), not ser (sir) as was

⁸⁷ The convents bestowed procuratorial powers onto the following five noblemen: “spectabilem dominum Johannem de Begna nobilem Jadrensis“, “dominum Donatum Crissana Nobilem Jadra“, “excellentem leges utriusque doctorem dominum Franciscum Fumatum nobilem Jadrensis“, “dominum Doymum Cedulaum Nobilem Jadre“, and “dominum Paladinum Ciuallillum.“ For the references in the sources, cf. (in order of their listing) PB I, 1, 9, f24r/f24v, stipulated on 21 July, 1543, SB I, 1, 3, f162v, stipulated on 5 January, 1559, SB I, 1, 6, f415v, stipulated on 15 April, 1563, JM I, 4, f136r/f136v, stipulated on 14 January, 1557, SM I, 1, 9, stipulated on 16 January, 1562.

⁸⁸ Both Hieronymus and his brother Petrus are referred to as citizens of Zadar and the obvious conclusion is that the brothers were highly respected and commanded a sufficient social posture within Zadar’s community. A fact supported in that both convents were for noblewomen only and in all other cases fellow noblemen only were appointed procurators. For the reference to Hieronymus, cf. SB I, 1, 6, f369r/f369v, stipulated on 15 April, 1563, for the reference to Petrus, cf. HM I, 3, f7r, stipulated on 22 November, 1568.

⁸⁹ As we learn from an instrument from early January of 1559, the nuns in the convent of St Mary OSB were led by “Reverenda domina Antonella Gallella honoranda abbatissa“, and included “domina sor Magdalena Tetrica, domina sor Marchetta Gallella, domina sor Perina Fumata, domina sor Jacoba Cedula, domina sor Paula Soppe, domina sor Hieronyma Grisogona, domina sor Francischina Chernaruta (Carnaruta, the author), domina sor Gabriella Rosa, domina sor Justina Rosa, domina sor Vigilanta Grisogona, domina sor Dominica Soppe, domina sor Pacifica Soppe, domina sor Cherubina Nassi, domina sor Catherina Grisogona, domina sor Dionora Chernaruta (Carnaruta, the author), domina sor Flavia Pechiaro, domina sor Lucretia Grisogona, domina sor Daria Begna, domina sor Maria Galelli, domina sor Archangela Ferra, domina sor Jacomella Galella, domina sor Cicilia Ciualella.“ As becomes strikingly evident at first glance, fourteen of out the twenty noble families of Zadar had one or more members of their family present in the convent. These nuns then went on and bestowed their procuratorial powers onto “dominum Donatum Crissanam Nobilem Jadram“, who was chosen to replace “dominus Aloysius Tetricus“, himself of blue blood, “defferendum, dantes et concedentes eidem domino Donato“ all required powers to represent the convent. Cf. SB I, 1, 3, f162v, stipulated on 5 January, 1559.

⁹⁰ “(...) quondam Marci Antonij de Bassiano“ is referred to as “olim causidici Jadre“ (attorney/barrister) in an instrument from autumn 1540. Cf. AM I, 1, 1, B, stipulated on 23 October, 1540.

the more often used epithet for citizens.⁹¹ By contrast, the non-noble convent of St Francis designated both individuals of aristocratic descent and commoners, evidenced by the appointments of the nobles “il spettabile meser Zoilo de Ferra nobile, facendo per nome suo et del spettabile et eccelente dottore meser Pietro Fanfogna similmente nobile assente“ in 1560⁹² as well as “dominum Franciscum de Ventura civem Jadrensis“⁹³ to be the new general procurators five years later (cf. also part 4). Apart from the duties explained above, the individuals who assumed representative duties were also responsible to rent out the cloistral possessions in Zadar's hinterlands to individuals for farming or livestock breeding purposes in order to provide the convents with income (which will be discussed in more detail later on).

In addition to general administrative and representative duties, the individuals entrusted with the representation of a convent also had to ensure that any additional bestowal of mobile and/or immobile property by recently deceased persons reached its rightful heirs. These bequests could either be money, mobile, immobile goods or any combination of these benefices. In most cases, though, the sources are not too specific on these hereditary issues, usually the procurator had to ensure that all property to which the convent was entitled by virtue of a testament was collected. And as evidenced above, these worldly goods could be from a deceased

⁹¹ This begs further consideration, however, the sources are not clear enough to conclusively state this. What is clear, though, is that Marcus Antonius's third son, “domino Michaelj de Bassiano quondam spectabili domini Marci Antonii Causidici et aromatario“ (spice trader). Despite the fact that Michael was a businessman, he, too, was referred to as dominus (lord). Cf. ND I, 1, B, stipulated on 20 July, 1540.

⁹² While the Franciscans were not the only religious order to also appoint commoners to these positions, there is, as shown, a definitively higher number of nobles to be found who assumed procuratorial duties. Cf. DC I, 1, 8, 3, f5r/f5v, stipulated on 30 June, 1560.

As above, Franciscus de Ventura, too, is named explicitly in the report by Pauli Justininani, former captain of Zadar, upon his return to Venice on 13 February, 1553, along with other important non-nobles: “Simon Bertonicchio, il capitano Peregrin de Marco, Francesco de Ventura, Zuan Rimondin, Hierolimo de Lorenzi et altri simili (...)“ Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 3, 52.

⁹³ The notarial instrument continues to state that Franciscus was appointed procurator “loco quondam domini Simonis Britanici dum vixit eorum procuratoris“, suggesting that the Franciscans did appoint commoners to represent them – but only exceptionally and as long as they commanded a social posture deemed high enough. Cf. SB I, 1, 6, f480r/f480v, stipulated on 28 December, 1565.

Another point worth mentioning here is the fact that their former procurator, “egregius vir dominus Simeon Britanicus civis et Interpres publicus Jadrae“, commanded a rather elevated social posture, too. Not only is he used the epithet the same one usually used for noblemen but he is also referred to holding the public office of interpreter. In addition, his daughter, “domina Cicilia filia quondam domini Simonis Britanici et relicta quondam domini Joannis Venerij civis Jadrae“, was married to a member of the local Venier family, members of the Venetian patriciate. Both aspects combined suggest that Simon's over-all public standing was very elevated, especially considering his daughter was the preferred bride, not a member of Zadar's seventeen noble families. For the reference to the public interpreter, cf. DC I, 1, 3, f27v–f28v, stipulated on 30 December, 1555, for the marriage alliance with the Jadertine branch of the Venier family, cf. NC I, 4, f18r, stipulated on 20 August, 1567.

bishop from another part of Dalmatia⁹⁴, a certain defined portion of a local nobleman's goods⁹⁵ or, more simply, just make sure any outstanding sum of money owed was paid.⁹⁶

In general, the mechanisms of communication between secular and ecclesiastical elites follow the same over-all pattern. While the percentage of female constituents was roughly a quarter and mostly of noble descent, all but two percent of all individuals who assumed procuratorial duties were men. Of all the constituent parties, four out of five originated from within the Jadertine jurisdiction – that is, the islands, the hinterlands on the mainland, and the smaller districts of Nin, Novigrad, and Vrana subject to Zadar. While this number remained more or less constant over the entire period under investigation, the picture changes slightly in the context of the individuals assuming procuratorial duties. On average, still circa sixty percent came from the same areas as the constituent parties, however, from the first to the last decade under survey, a significant shift happened: The former timespan (1540 to 1549) saw almost two thirds of all procurators originating from within Zadar and/or its subject territories. The latter decade (1560 to 1569), while witnessing an increase in individual contracts relative to the first decade, saw this number drop to just above fifty percent. This coincided roughly with the doubling of all procurators who were sent to conduct someone else's business in the

⁹⁴ For instance, in summer of 1559, “Reverendus Pater dominus Bernardus de Jadra Prior Monasterij Sancti Chrisogoni Monachorum ordinis Sancti Benedicti Agens nomine dicti totius conventus”, needed a procurator. The monastery was named the successor of “quondam Reverendi domini domini Chrystophori de Balistris episcopi traguriensis”, who recently died in Split. Consequently, the Benedictine convent of Zadar appointed, “Reverendum dominum Patrem Georgium de Pulchris spalatensis” was tasked to retrieve “ab hereditate seu bonatentibus (...) quodcumque et quecumque legatum Seu legata per dictum quondam Reverendum dominum episcopum factum et facta (...) et pro premissi, quatenus opus esset comparendum Coram Magnifico et celeberrimo domino potestate Tragurij et Spalati, ac alibi ubi opus esset agendum (...)”. Cf. SB I, 1, 4, f194v, stipulated on 25 July, 1559.

⁹⁵ A few years earlier, in 1555, the nobles-only Jadertine Franciscan nunnery of St Nicholas OSC, led by “Reverenda domina Cassandra de Nassis Benemerita Abbatissa”, appointed “spectabilem dominum Franciscum Fanfoneum quondam spetabili domini Gregorij Nobilem Jadrensis” in order to retrieve “omnia, et quaecumque bona tam mobilia tamquam stabilia, pecunias, et scripturas, et quascumque res (...) quondam domini Simonis Fanfonei ubique locorum, et a quibusvis personis” bequeathed to them. In all, the convent was named heir “pro tertia parte ut constat eius testamento manu sua propria scripto.” The appointment of a next-of-kin of the late testator who then-recently died in Venice, should have not only increased the likelihood of the successful inheritance but included also an explicit statement that a voyage to Venice may have been necessary. The document states (twice) that Franciscus should perform all required duties “In Alma Civitate Venetiarum tam ubicumque locorum” – in Venice, Zadar, and/or elsewhere. Cf. ND I, 2, 1, f1r–f2r, stipulated on 6 February, 1555.

⁹⁶ Another incident involved, again, the nobles-only Franciscan nunnery of St Nicholas OSC. The late “Reverendo meser Nicolo Difnico” bequeathed 50 ducats to the convent. The money was to be collected from Geronamo Grisogono Jadrensis, ad praesens existens super Triremi Magnifici domini Marci de Molino”. As a consequence, the Poor Clare Sisters, led by “Reverenda domina sor Maria Grisogono Abbatissa” appointed “dominum Petrum Ferra nobilem Jadre” to collect this bequeathed sum of 50 ducats from the abbess's next-of-kin. Cf. SM I, 1, 10, stipulated on 2 November, 1563.

In addition, another instrument refers to the above-reference Nicolo Difnico as “Sacre theologie professorem ministrum fratrum minorum ordinis Sancti Francisci” and provides additional background information. Nicolaus was originally from Šibenik, as evidenced by the naming of his next-of-kin, “spectabilis dominus Georgius Diphnicus quondam Magnifici domini Simonis equitis nobilis Sibirici.” Cf. ND I, 1, C, stipulated on 17 March, 1541.

imperial capital. Over the same period of time, the number of procurators sent to the various parts of the Venice's Adriatic double province of Albania and Dalmatia also increased, but only slightly.

Examining the data, it can be concluded that the importance of Zadar and its jurisdiction as a destination decreased by roughly the same amount as Venice grew in prominence. At the same time, the Jadertine ties with the rest of Dalmatia remained more or less constant, although the central Dalmatian components of the *Stato da mar* – the jurisdictions of Šibenik and Zadar⁹⁷ – attracted far more procuratorial missions than any other part of Albania or Dalmatia combined. This leads to the conclusion that the network density within the local area, i.e. within the Jadertine jurisdiction was rather high in the 1540s but decreased in importance in the decades leading up to the Cyprus War (1570 to 1573). As a consequence, this development saw the rise of Venice – the city proper and its subject possessions on the Italian mainland – as the prime destination of procuratorial missions by the end of the 1560s. Thus, it may be concluded that the density of communication on the local level decreased and, consequently, gave rise to the growing importance of regional and supra-regional destinations. And while these changes occurred gradually, there are clear indications as to the importance of certain parts of the Republic of Venice, that is the capital proper and the Adriatic components of the *Stato da mar*. All other destinations in the vicinity of Zadar, though, be they in Istria, the Serenissima's Ionian possessions, along the opposite shores or even further away in the Eastern Mediterranean or inlands in the deeper Balkans, remained of little if any significance over the entire period under survey.

As for the impetus behind appointing one or a group of procurators, these can be organised in three large groups: economic, legal, and social incentives. The first describes contracts in which a mandate is given specifically to recover a defined sum of money or to sell mobile or immobile goods all over the *Stato da mar*.⁹⁸ Under legal aspects the present thesis categorises any procuratorial duties aimed at representation in any court of law and/or aimed at the composition of an arbitration agreement. The social character of many assignments transcend all social strata and could only be comprehended in the context of the importance of personal and/or family relations between the constituent parties and the mandates given. As for struc-

⁹⁷ Arié Malz stated the former's fortunes were on the rise over the 16th century while, contemporaneously, the latter's declined. Malz, "Frühneuzeitliche Modernisierung," 103.

⁹⁸ In the context of the present study, this generalisation predominantly means – as the tables above indicate – Venice proper as well as the other places along the Dalmatian coast.

tural tendencies, for most business in the *Stato da mar* (excluding Venice proper), any noble or individual of sufficient social posture can be considered appropriate to fulfil any task. In the event of the mandate leading to the capital, things changed – as the increased appointment of both Venetian patricians and citizens in correlation with the destinations in the contracts suggests.

Considering the Church's activities, the patterns of communication within the procuratorial networks as regards members of the clergy follow, in general, the mechanisms and directions outlined above. If the assignment required high-profile counterparts in both Venice or Rome, the best and most renown procurators available were tasked with carrying out these mandates. Much more common, though, were – again, economic – tasks to collect inherited goods, real estate, and money bequeathed by the populace of both nobles and commoners alike. These were usually collected by procurators appointed with specified and detailed duties, though the Jadertine convents, eight in total, regularly appointed general representatives to lease their property to labourers or tenants in order to turn their landed property into income.

Finally, as far as the language used is concerned, there existed a definitive distinction between the social groups, characterised by the addition of adjectives and the terms applied to the individuals. On top of the hierarchy was the Venetian Doge, called upon in the invocation and setting the tone for any other Venetian patrician. Usually, notarial acts were written “*Temporibus serenissimi Principis, et domini Excellentissimi Petri Lando, Dei Gratia Venetiarum et cetera Ducis Illustrissimi*“, as this example illustrates. His representatives holding public offices in Zadar were referenced as “(Pretureque, the author) *celeberrimi domini Jacobi Antonij Mauro Comitis Jadra dignissimi*.”⁹⁹ And, speaking of the Venetian nobility, an additional layer of respect is found in the notary protocols. Usually any member of the Republic of St Mark's aristocracy was referred to as “*magnificus*“ (magnificent), “*generosus*“ (generous), and/or “*celeberrimus*“ as far as the adjectives go; additional distinction was delivered by using the epithet “*patritius venetus*“ – as opposed to the term “*dominus*“ (lord) for all other

⁹⁹ These references were taken from PS I, 1, f1r/f1v, stipulated on 10 May, 1545.

members of the nobility from any other place. Especially the latter appears to be a subtle boundary to mark the distinctiveness despite the same social provenance.¹⁰⁰

As all high-level positions in the Church were reserved for either Venetian or local nobles, the archbishops and bishops were also named with one or more of the above-mentioned epithets, each according to their individual backgrounds.¹⁰¹ More regular members of the clergy were usually referred to with their ecclesiastical titles like “vicarius” (vicar)¹⁰², “archipresbyter/diaconus” (archpriest/deacon)¹⁰³, “presbyter/parochianus” (priest/parish priest)¹⁰⁴, “clericus” (cleric)¹⁰⁵, and “canonicus” (canon).¹⁰⁶ As for the cloistral population, the provosts were named either “abbas/abbatissa” (abbot/abbess) or “prior/priora” (prior/

¹⁰⁰ These honorific adjectives can be found in any of the contracts involving a Venetian patrician. For the ones referenced above, cf. PB I, 1, 8, f41r, stipulated on 17 August, 1542.

While the honorific *ser* (sir) did not convey any particular distinction between nobles and commoners (in Venice, as argued by James Grubb), the situation in Venice's dominions is far less clear. As far as the notarial instruments of Zadar's notaries are concerned, the honorific *dominus* was usually reserved for the nobility, although some very important individuals of non-noble descent were addressed with it, too. Those individuals appearing in the sources as *cives* (citizens) were usually referenced as *ser*. It needs to be pointed out, though, that this distinction is not the last word on the subject but rather an initial observation on the use of honorific styles in Venice's *Stato da mar*, as evidenced by the fact that Petrus de Bassano, a citizen and notary public of Zadar, was referred to in both ways, *dominus* and *ser* – sometimes in the same instrument. Cf. SB I, 1, 1, f9r, stipulated on 16 November, 1556.

For references to the situation in Venice, see James S. Grubb, “Elite Citizens,” in *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City State, 1297–1797*, ed. Dennis Romano and John Martin (Baltimore, MD, and London: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 2000), 349 (339–64).

¹⁰¹ In the exemplary case of an archbishop, the appropriate epithet was “*Reverendum in Christo Patrem et dominum dominum (...) archiepiscopum Jadre Dignissimum*.” Cf. JM I, 4, f128v, stipulated on 3 November, 1556.

Bishops were addressed only as “*Reverendum dominum (...) episcopum* (add place, the author).” Cf. SB I, 1, 1, f9r, stipulated on 16 November, 1556.

The reason for the use of the accusative in both examples here is that the references were taken from procuratorial contracts in which the archbishop was the appointee and the bishop was the opposing party.

¹⁰² For instance, in 1564, “*excellens artium et medicinae doctor Casar de Sanctis* appointed “*Reverendum dominum Antonium Garbinum Canonicum, et Vicarium Pagensis*” to represent him “*pro eo appellationem (...) a quadam asserta sententia condemnatoria contra ipsum (...) lata per Magnificum dominum Procomitem Pagi (...)*.” Cf. SB I, 1, 6, f464v, stipulated on 22 September, 1564.

¹⁰³ In another procuratorial instrument, the brothers “*virii nobilium Jadrensis Reverendus Franciscus Archipresbyter et domini Hieronymi fratres de Grisogonis*” appoint “*Magnificum dominum Petrum sopracomitum Triremis Jadertine*.” The procurator's task was specific, he was to “*locandum pro annis sex futuris ipsorum introitus, redditus, et proventus tam in civitate Tragurij tamquam eius comitatu*.” Cf. SM I, 1, 11, f9r, stipulated on 8 May, 1565.

¹⁰⁴ Priests usually, even non-noble ones, were addressed with this epithet, e.g. “*dominus presbyter Johannes Liuacich parochianus ville Blato, et Nicolaus Liuacich Eius Nepos ex fratre*” who sold one *gonjaj* (morgen) with grapes to “*Gregorio Litarich*” for the sum of 62 *libras parvorum*. Cf. PB I, 1, 10, f20r/f20v, stipulated on 23 September, 1544.

¹⁰⁵ Not all clerics, though, were addressed with the title *dominus*, as evidenced by “*clerico Mattheo Battaglich de dicta insula*” Sali, referenced without any honorific. He bought a patch of land, circa a third of a *gonjaj*, from “*Martinus Duornicich de insula Sale*” for the price of 18 *libras parvorum*. Cf. NC I, 1, 2, f14r, stipulated on 9 October, 1561.

¹⁰⁶ Canons could also be bestowed with the epithet *dominus*, as “*Reverendus dominus Mathaeus de Marchettis Canonicus Jadrensis, ac Anconitanensis*”, amply demonstrates. He appointed “*spectabilem et egregium virum dominum Antonium de Marchettis fratrem ipsius domini constituentis, et dominum Franciscus de Marchettis Nepotem Suum ex fratre praedicto*” to travel to Ancona. There, the appointees were to take corporal possession of “*canonicatus, ac prebende ecclesie cathedralis Anconitanensis*.” Cf. PB I, 1, 9, f3v, stipulated on 21 February, 1542.

prioress), the lower ranks were referred to as “pater” (father), “frater/sor” (brother/sister).¹⁰⁷ All of the members of the Church were usually referred to as “reverendus” (reverend) or “venerabilis” (venerable)¹⁰⁸, and, in case any of the individuals involved was of noble descent, this fact would be noted by the addition of the terms *nobilis* or *dominus*.

Craftsmen were noted specifically, usually by either adding the title *magister* (master) before the name, their craft after the name, and/or both.¹⁰⁹ Two other points need to be considered here, one being military personnel and their epithets and women. As regards the former, if the individual concerned was an officer, the term “*strenuus*” (strenuous) was added before his name and/or rank.¹¹⁰ Lower ranks and enlisted men only featured their ranks (if they had one) before their names.¹¹¹ As for female constituents, in case the woman in question was acting on her behalf alone, she would be noted specifically as “*mulier sui iuris*” (woman in her own right), more likely, though, were cases in which the women in question would be acting “*cum licentia*” or “*cum presentia maritis*” (with licence or in the presence of the husband).¹¹²

¹⁰⁷ For the female references, cf. SB I, 1, 6, f390r/f390v, stipulated on 30 October, 1559, for their male counterparts, e.g. the “*Reverendus pater frater Dominicus de Brachia (Brač/La Brazza, the author) Prior Monasterij sive conventus venerabilium fratrum predicatorum Divi Dominici Jadre*.” The Dominicans appointed “*spectabilem virum dominum Nicolaum de Nassis quondam dominum Chrysogoni nobilem Jadre*” to gain compensation “*pro reparatione (...) damnum de ratione dicti conventus in quibus milites Tempore recentis belli turcarum preteriti stabant ab eumque devastate (...) coram quocumque alio celeberrimo Magistratu et officio quacumque (...) fungente Inclyta Urbis Venetiarum*.” Cf. FT I, 1, 1, f8r/f8v, stipulated on 31 December, 1549.

¹⁰⁸ Another possible adjective was *venerable*, as in “*venerabilis dominus Grisogonus Cedulinus canonicus Jadre Prefecturus Romam*” who appointed “*dominum Vincentium eius fratrem*” to represent the former as procurator generalis. Cf. JMM I, 2, 1, f26r, stipulated on 26 September, 1540.

¹⁰⁹ An example thereof is “*magister Franciscus Staglich butarius filius magistri Hieronymi de Lesina*” (Hvar), a master-butcher residing within Hvar’s jurisdiction. He was appointed to take care of the possessions of “*strenuus dominus Franciscus Cualellus agendum, et Intervenienti nomine suo proprio ac vice nomine fratrum suorum*” (Donatus, Gregorius, the author), situated on the island of Vir (Lissa). Cf. DC I, 1, 1, f44r/f44v, stipulated on 7 August, 1554.

¹¹⁰ As evidenced by the naming of “*strenuus dominus Petrus Clada Capitaneus stratiotorum*” who, as the legal guardian of his late brother, “*quondam strenui domini Nicolai Clada*” appointed “*Magnificum dominum Petrum Valareso quondam celeberrimi domini Zacharie*” to obtain all outstanding sold payments. Cf. JM I, 3, f49r, stipulated on 9 February, 1555.

¹¹¹ For instance, “*strenui Theodori Mamora de Nauplio (Nafplion/Napoli di Romania, the author) comestabilis in castro magno Jadre*” had the word *strenuus* before his name, as, on the other hand, all the men in the company of “*strenuus, ac Magnus dominus Nicolaus Tetrico Nobilis Jadre meritissimus Capitaneus (...) Comitum Co-ruatorum deputatorum ad custodiam civitatis Jadre*”, did not. The enlisted men, in all circa 40 individuals, were only named without any additional information. For the former, cf. SM I, 1, 2, stipulated on 21 August, 1556, for the latter cf. PB I, 1, 7, f40r–f41r, stipulated on 1 January, 1540.

¹¹² For the marital licence, cf. SB I, 1, 3, f173v, stipulated on 25 March, 1559, when “*domina Catherina uxor domini Georgii Lucii filia quondam domini Simonis de Nassis dicti il Mesco de presentia et voluntate dicti Viri sui*”, appointed a procurator to rent out a possession near Sali (Sale) on Dugi Otok (Isola Grossa/Lunga). The appointee, “*dominum Julium de Nassis fratrem suum*”, was closely related to the constituent, Catherina. An example for the marital presence involved “*Helysabeth uxor magistri Joannis Rubalouich cerdonis*” who, “*cum presentia etiam dicit viri*” sold 6 *gonjaj* (morgen) to “*domino Zoylo de Ferra Nobile Jadre*.” The parcel of land was arable, had grapes growing on it, was located in the vicinity of the village of Banj (Bagno di Pasmano), and was sold for 60 ducats. Cf. JMM I, 2, 1, f44v/f45r, stipulated on 18 November, 1540.

4. Secular and Ecclesiastical Elites vs. Society

Having defined the origins and destinations of both constituent and procuratorial parties, it is now time to address questions as to who were these stipulating individuals and where they fit into the functional and social fabric of sixteenth-century Dalmatian society. This chapter now deals with the men and women, institutions, and/or groups behind the numbers in an effort to further our understanding of the dynamics and mechanisms of communication.

In general, the numbers are very clear on the proportion of ecclesiastical versus secular elites. On average, only about 13 % of all constituent parties were members of the clergy over the three decades from 1 January, 1540, to 31 December, 1569. In this context it is required to note the fact that the term *clergy* denotes not only individuals identified by their affiliation, social status, and/or job description but also applies to institutions such as *abbatia* (abbey), *conventus* (convent), *ecclesia* (church), and *monasterium* (monastery) as well as charitable institutions like hospitals. The ecclesiastic members of society were usually referenced as *reverendus* (Reverend) or *venerabilis* (venerable). Interestingly, the nobility played a rather large role in the local clergy only during the first decade of the epoch under consideration. Over the remaining twenty years we witness an overall increase in church-related activities, however, the number of aristocratic members of the clergy drops considerably. As table 4 shows in more detail, the total percentage of all constituent parties of noble descent on average amounted to slightly less than 43 %.¹¹³

On the basis of the procuratorial records, it can be concluded that the nobility of the *Stato da mar* made up the largest single group of constituent parties. The percentages of artisans, the merchants of Zadar, and the presumably literate individuals remains almost stable over the entire timespan. It is also worth noting that the over-all percentage of female members of noble descent appointing legal representatives increased significantly, almost doubling in the period under consideration.

¹¹³ The exact percentages are 39.1 % for the decade from 1540 to 1549, 45.1 % for the decade from 1550 to 1559, and 44.3 % for the decade from 1560 to 1569.

Table 4: Social and Functional Provenances, Constituents (1540 to 1569)

	nobles ^a	clergy ^b	artisans ^c	soldiers ^d	traders ^e	intell. ^f	rest ^g
1540s	63 (♀ 14)	22 (16)	19 (6 ♀)	22 (2)	7	15 (7)	77
1550s	122 (♀ 30)	53 (7)	14 (4 ♀)	47 (10)	15	22 (10)	57
1560s	129 (♀ 39)	49 (7)	20 (11 ♀)	76 (19)	11	31 (11)	59
	314 (♀ 83)	124 (30)	53 (21 ♀)	145 (31)	33	68 (28)	193

Sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JM (1545–1569), JMM (1540–1554), MAS (1544–1548), NC (1558–1567), ND (1540–1566), PB (1540–1569), PS (1545–1551), SB (1556–1565), SM (1555–1567). In all, 930 individual contracts were analysed.

Table 4 shows the over-all numbers of the constituent parties of the procuratorial instruments as regards their social (nobles, clergy, artisans) as well as functional (soldiers, traders, intelligence) provenance from 1 January, 1540, to 31 December, 1569. All percentages are given with respect to the over-all percentages. All toponyms given below were found in the sources. All locations below were found in the sources, are referred to with their present toponyms and, where-ever possible, the corresponding Italian toponyms of the then-Venetian possessions are given in brackets. See also the appendix for more details.

- (a) Nobles refers to the social group of all constituent parties of noble descent from the following places Venice, Krk/Veglia (Vegla), Rab/Arbe (Arbe), Pag/Pago (Pago), Zadar/Zara (Jadra), Šibenik/Sebenico (Sibenico), Trogir/Traù (Tragurij), Split/Spalato (Spalato), Hvar/Lesina (Pharo, Lesina), and Kotor/Cattaro (Catharo). The numbers given are the over-all numbers of individuals of noble descent and the corresponding number in brackets is the number of women among those (in case only women were the constituent party, in all other cases, women were counted in the over-all figure. The bottom line gives the combined three-decade number.
- (b) Clergy refers to those individuals and institutions (e.g. a convent or a church) assumed to have belonged to the ecclesiastical parts of society, including the following indications about their functions: canonicus (canon), clericus (cleric), diaconus (deacon), episcopus (bishop, including archbishops), parochianus (parish priest), pater (father) presbyter (priest), sor/frater (sister/friar), and vicarius (vicar). The numbers given are the over-all numbers of individuals and/or institutions the corresponding number in brackets is the number of individuals of noble descent among those. The bottom line gives the combined three-decade number.
- (c) Artisans refers to all craftsmen as defined by their title magister (master) and/or handcraft description. The numbers given are the over-all number of artisans and the corresponding number in brackets is the number of women among those (in case only women were the constituent party, in all other cases, women were counted in the over-all figure. The bottom line gives the combined three-decade number.
- (d) Soldiers refers to all military personnel irrespective of their social, geographical, and rank-related provenance including the following indications about their functions: capitaneus (captain), comes (count), galeotus (oarsman), miles (soldier), sopracomes (gally commander/captain), and stratiotus (mercenary cavalryman). The numbers given are the over-all numbers of individuals and the corresponding number in brackets is the number of individuals of noble descent among those. The bottom line gives the combined three-decade number.
- (e) Traders refers to the number of individuals engaged in commerce as defined by their job descriptions aromatarius (spice trader), bazariotus (small retailer), and mercator (merchant). The numbers given are the over-all numbers of individuals. The bottom line gives the combined three-decade number.
- (f) Intell. refers to the percentage of all individuals assumed to have been literate who, for practical purposes, have been put into the category ‘intelligence’ including the following job descriptions: advocatus/causidicus/solicitor (advocate/lawyer/solicitor), cancellarius (chancellor), gabellotus (tax collector), leges utriusque doctor (doctor of both laws), notarius (notary public), scriba (scribe), and artium et medicinae doctor (medical doctor). The numbers given are the over-all numbers of individuals and the corresponding number in brackets is the number of individuals of noble descent among those. The bottom line gives the combined three-decade number.
- (g) Rest refers to number of individuals belonging to neither group above. The bottom line gives the combined three-decade number.

But aristocratic women were not the only ones whose importance increased, on the contrary, the second group witnessing its share of constituents increase significantly were members of the military. This fact begs further discussion as practically all reports by both civilian and military governors sent by the Serenissima to administer Zadar during the epoch under con-

sideration request additional funds and/or personnel. It is necessary, then, to note the obvious militarisation of Zadar's environment and hinterlands between the two Ottoman–Venetian wars during the sixteenth century and afterwards as the presumed root cause of this development.¹¹⁴

This claim is backed up by the fact that during the 1540s slightly more than a third of all constituents were individuals without any of the social–functional group affiliations. A number which, by the end of the timespan (the decade from 1560 to 1569) under survey dropped to below a tenth. In addition, the increasing insecurity of the hinterlands over the entire epoch under consideration is also visible in the larger numbers of constituents residing in Zadar itself. As table 2 indicates, this percentage increased from sixty percent in the 1540s to slightly more than seventy percent in the 1560s. As all these reports by the Venetian governors and the corresponding literature suggest, the numbers in the above–mentioned tables back up these claims with empirical evidence.

Apart from these issues, another interesting fact is that neither the craftsmen nor the mercantile community contributed significantly to procuratorial appointments. Unfortunately, only little information on Jadertine commercial ties for the mid–sixteenth century is based upon actual empirical data. One may only guess, at best, as to why these individuals did not appoint procurators on a larger scale. A quick survey about the duties assigned to their representatives suggests that the following reasons were in play.

¹¹⁴ Virtually all reports request more funding and/or soldiers over the period from the war in 1538/41 to the next conflagration over Cyprus in 1570/73. Examples thereof include Marcus Antonius da Mula, Jadertine count in 1540/42, describing the “*terrafirma*“, i.e. the mainland under Zadar's jurisdiction, as all but deserted, the only exception being Zemunik (Zemonico), and calling for additional troops. Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 172–3. This was more or less verbatim repeated by Johannes Baptista Justiniano and Antonius Diedo in their report in 1553 as well as by Jacobus Pisano, Jadertine count in 1564/66, describing unresolved border conflicts with the Ottomans, a sixfold decrease of the olive harvest, and the importance of further investments in both fortifications and troops. For the former, see Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 194–6, for the latter see Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 3, 164–7.

Lost territories in the hinterlands in turn increased the Ottoman pressure on the coastal communities which forced the Venetians to adapt to the “Ottoman way of small war, typical for the frontier areas, based on skirmishes, raids and similar guerilla actions. This way of combating also dictated the specific way of living, creating specific frontiers (sic!) societies in the hinterland of the Dalmatian coastal towns.“ Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 13–4.

Further, see Frank Tallett, *War and Society in Early Modern Europe, 1495–1715* (London: Routledge, 1992), 60, Stanojević, *Jugoslovenske zemlje*, 75–101.

In addition, Michael Knapton also gives the example of the Uskoks of Senj (Segna) as a frontier society. Knapton, “*Stato da Mar*,” 329–31.

Those artisans who appointed procurators did so in order to obtain (small) amounts of money invested in the Venetian Monte nuovo¹¹⁵, the selling of houses in towns of prior residence¹¹⁶, dowry-related agendas¹¹⁷, the administration of property elsewhere¹¹⁸, and the appointment of general representatives.¹¹⁹ Most of these duties hint at a rather high degree of geographical mobility – that is, migration caused by economic, employment, and/or work-related incentives. Apart from the content of the various instruments, at times also the homonyms yield information about the provenance of the constituent parties. Thereof exists ample evidence in practically every social strata, for instance, there were artisans from the following locations: “de Venetiis”¹²⁰, “de Bergamo” (Bergamo)¹²¹, “de Sebenico” (today: Šibenik)¹²²,

¹¹⁵ In spring of 1540, “dona Marietta uxor magistri Simonis Butarij de Sibenico habitatoris venetijs in confinio Sancti Boldi, ac filia quondam ut asservit magistri Cora Michaelis chalder” (master–brazier/coppersmith), tasks her husband, a master–cooper/tubber residing in Venice’s St Boldi parish, to extract 29 ducats from the Monte nuovo. Cf. PB I, 1, 7, f34v, stipulated on 23 May, 1540.

The literature on Venice’s floating public debt, consolidated and organised as government obligations tradable in an open market for fixed-interest bonds from the second half of the 13th century, is vast. For good starting points follow Lane, *Maritime Republic*, 324–6, Frederic C. Lane, “The Funded Debt of the Venetian Republic,” in *Venice and History. The collected Papers of Frederic C. Lane*, ed. Frederic C. Lane (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1966), 87–98, and Reinhold C. Mueller, “‘Quando i Banchi no’ ha’ fede, la terra no’ ha credito’: Bank Loans to the Venetian State in the 15th Century,” in *Banchi pubblici, Banchi privati e Monti de Pietà nell’Europa preindustriale: Amministrazione, tecniche operative e ruoli economici. Atti del Convegno, Genova, 1–6 Ottobre 1990*, ed. Società Ligure di Storia Patria (Genoa: Società Ligure di Storia Patria, 1991), 275–308, as well as the more detailed accounts given in and the very detailed accounts given in Frederic C. Lane and Reinhold C. Mueller, *Money and Banking in medieval and Renaissance Venice: The Venetian Money Market: Banks, Panics and the Public Debt, 1200–1500* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1997), 359–487, and Roberto Cessi, *Politica ed Economia di Venezia nel Trecento* (Rome: Edizione di Storia e Letteratura, 1952), 172–248.

¹¹⁶ Another example was “magister Simon Grubissich calafatus (master–caulker, the author) quondam Antonij de Jadra” then–residing in Chioggia. He appointed a fellow artisan to be his procurator and found one “in personam magistri Martini sutoris” (master–cobbler) and tasked him to sell off the former’s house in Zadar’s St John’s parish, obviously because of Simon’s relocation to Chioggia. Cf. PB I, 1, 8, f3v/f4r, stipulated on 28 May, 1541.

¹¹⁷ In early 1558, “magister Johannes Baptista filius magistri Stephani de Venzono, cerdo habitator Jadre”, a master–cobbler, appointed the prominent Jadertine citizen “dominum Franciscum de Ventura to acquire the outstanding 50 ducats promised “in auxilium dotis Magdalene”, Johannes’ wife. The financial assistance was to be obtained “ab hereditibus quondam domini Laurentij de Puteo olim civis et mercatoris Venetiarum” or any other person responsible for the payment. Cf. SB I, 1, 2, f94r, stipulated on 30 January, 1558.

¹¹⁸ As was the case when “ser Bastianus filius quondam magistri Alberti de Persicis sutoris de Bergamo”, a master–cobbler, assigned the task to administer his inherited property, probably in or in the vicinity of Bergamo., to “ser Johnnem Andrean Pensum absentem tamquam praesentem modo Venetijs, ut dixit commorandum.” Cf. SB I, 1, 3, f127r, stipulated on 4 June, 1558.

¹¹⁹ For instance, “magister Andreas Nunchouich peliparius (master–furrier, the author) quondam magistri Simonis”, appointed “dominum Marcum Aurelium Sonzonium, causidicum” (attorney/barrister) and one of Zadar’s notaries public to be his procurator generalis, “ad agendum, petendum, deffendendum, respondendum, oponendum, ac libellandum.” Both stipulating parties resided in Zadar. Cf. PB I, 1, 8, f16v, stipulated on 19 September, 1541.

¹²⁰ As evidenced, for instance, in the person of “magister Johannes Galeacij Marangonus de Venetijs habitator Jadre”, a master–oarsmaker of Venetian origin residing in Zadar. Cf. JM I, 4, f85r, stipulated on 9 January, 1556.

¹²¹ Cf. SB I, 1, 3, f127r, stipulated on 4 June, 1558.

¹²² As evidenced by “Magister Nicolaus Radotich Tinctior civis et habitator Jadre”, a master–dyer, who appointed “ser Phyllippum Pinezich Mercatorem habitatorem Sibirici.” The procurator’s task was to sort out the differences of Nicolaus “cum ser Joanne Zdrigne habitatore Tragurij” caused by a fideiussio (co–signing/guarantee) “pro incanto Tintoria Tragurij.” Cf. DC I, 1, 6, f30v, stipulated on 5 November, 1559.

and “de Castro Nigra de Curcula” (Korčula).¹²³ One more interesting fact is that despite only fifty-three individual contracts list artisans constituents, twenty-one of these were ordered by women. In other terms, this means that four out of ten procurators were appointed by the craftsmen's spouses, daughters, and mothers who were very much involved in the businesses of the male artisans.

Compared to the Jadertine mercantile community, only seventeen individuals could be identified to have been commercially active who are represented in the procuratorial instruments. These merchants came from places both within and outside the Venetian dominions. In the former category, cities like Venice¹²⁴, Skradin (Scardona)¹²⁵, Šibenik (Sebenico)¹²⁶, and Split (Spalato)¹²⁷ are referenced in the contracts. The latter group includes Bologna¹²⁸ and

¹²³ For instance, “magister Jacobus quondam Andreae Paulouich de Corcira nigra alias Curcula carpentarius (wainwright, the author) ad praesens habitator Jadra” first revoked all prior procuratorial appointments and then tasked “magistrum Franciscum Boninum Carpentarium de dicto loco” with all of the constituent's dealings. Cf. HM I, 3, f29r/f29v, stipulated on 25 February, 1569.

It is necessary to point out, though, that these three origins constitute only a sample, there is ample documented evidence of craftsmen originating from virtually all over the Adriatic region, including the Italian shores across the sea and the coastal communities under Hungarian–Croatian control, for instance Senj (Segna).

¹²⁴ Most obviously, the capital features prominent almost in any context – here, though, it is because of “ser Joannes Antonius de Venetiis aromatarius (spice trader, the author) Jadre.” He appointed “ser Franciscum Petrouich civem, et habitatorem Jadre” to become the former's general procurator. Cf. ND I, 1, C, stipulated on 8 July, 1541.

¹²⁵ Among the more prominent individuals as to his appearance in the sources, was “ser Philipus Uertcovich civis mercator et habitator Jadre”, who needed legal representation to deal with his quarrels “cum Rabunno Scriuanich et Nicolao eius filio de Jelsa” (Hvar). The appointee, “spectabilem dominum Joannem Balci de Lesina” was, as could be expected, not only an inhabitant but also a member of Hvar's nobility. Cf. CC I, 1, 1, f25r, stipulated on 10 October, 1567.

The reason why the procurator, Johannes, is referred to with the epithet *spectabilis dominus* lies in his noble descent, as evidenced by the Venetian legates Johannes Baptista Justiniano and Antonius Diedo in 1553 listing the Balci as one of Hvar's noble families. Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 221.

¹²⁶ As for the trade routes and connections to the hinterlands dominated by the Ottomans, there are hints, too. For instance, “dominus Petrus de Capellis de Sibenico quondam ser Laurentij Civis et mercator Sibenici”, travelled to Zadar to appoint “Nobilem Jadrensis dominum Marcum de Cedulinis quondam spectabili domini Doymi” to collect the promised “uborchi quadraginta tres frumento (...) ad scalam Obrovatij”, the rest of a promised shipment of corn, “a Georgio alias Amadario Obrovatij.” Obviously, the voyage from Šibenik to Zadar to send someone further inland was not considered to be too much of an effort – and borders, insecurity, and the incessant skirmishes between Ottoman and Venetian subjects along the frontier did not impede trade to have the wheels of commerce grind to a complete halt. Cf. ND I, 2, 3, f35r, stipulated on 16 February, 1565.

¹²⁷ In August 1559, “ser Benedictus Blanco mercator Jadra” appointed “ser Laurentium Zappich”, a fellow Jadertine citizen, to collect outstanding payments in both money and/or in kind “a Dominico filio Hieronymi de Veia (Krk/Veglia, the author) ad praesens habitatorem Spalati sive Almissa” (Omiš/Almissa) according to a chyrographum/chirograph (promissory note) written on 2 October, 1557. Cf. SB I, 1, 4, f198v, stipulated on 31 August, 1559.

¹²⁸ Originally from Bologna, “dominus Alexander de Rouerbellis alias Zacarie quondam domini Julij de Bononia mercator civis et habitator Jadra”, appears in the sources in the late 1550s. Cf. DC I, 1, 6, f11v, stipulated on 23 May, 1558, and DC I, 1, 8, 3, f7v/f8r, stipulated on 15 June, 1560.

A bit later he re-appeared appointing “dominum Jacobum et Franciscum fratres suos filios dicti quondam domini Julij” to collect the sum of “400 libras moneta bononiensis” from the heirs and/or executors of their recently-deceased uncle (avus, their father's brother), “quondam domini Joannis Francisci Rouerbella alias de Zacharia fratris dicti quondam domini Julij.” Cf. SB I, 1, 6, f329v, stipulated on 12 September, 1561.

Parma¹²⁹ in the Emilia–Romagna, Pontremoli in Tuscany, and Ljubljana in present-day Slovenia. The latter two origins are of a different sort of importance to Zadar's mercantile community. Pontremoli was the ancestral town of dominus Lazarus de Gnochis de Pontremulo, one of the wealthiest Jadertine individuals. In a number of instruments, all of them dealing with his death and the subsequent actions of his heirs who aimed at obtaining parts of his wealth, it is revealed that Lazarus had extensive commercial ties to Venice and Bari in addition to his important role within the Jadertine citizenry.¹³⁰ Ljubljana is one this list also because it was the hometown of “ser Andreas Postner de Gliubgliana“, a merchant-turned-citizen of Zadar who was conducting his business operations out of central Dalmatia from the 1550s onwards.¹³¹

What these examples clearly demonstrate is that the rather high degree of mobility was closely tied to economic considerations. Not only for the passage of goods, services, and money but also for human labour in form of employment opportunities. The need for artisans skilled in carpentry, masonry, and other crafts necessary to improve the fortifications from the mid-1560s onwards¹³² is evident, however, when the communal loggia partially collapsed in 1564, it had to be rebuilt, too. So, in October of the same year, “Vedendo il celeberrimo meser Antonio Cacco Capitano di Zara dignissimo che la lozza di questa città si attrova in stato tale che non ci si facendo presta provisione“, contracted “magistro Hieronymo quondam Zuane Boccanich de Pucischie villa della Brazza (Pučišća/Pucischie, situated on the island of Brač/

¹²⁹ Another merchant, “dominus Jacobus de Nobilibus alias Malzapello Parmensis Aromatarius Jadre“, a spice trader, citizen, and resident of Zadar, appointed “dominum Jacobum de Paycis quondam domini Baptistae de Chrema“ (Crema) to take care of all of the constituent's agendas. Cf. DC I, 1, 9, f32r, stipulated on 13 March, 1562.

¹³⁰ Lazarus de Pontremulo was one of the wealthiest merchants of Zadar, as evidenced by his impressive inventory, written in 1556. For remarks about his life, see Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 259–61.

The documents referred to above were written in 1558/59 in order to obtain representation for the execution of Lazarus' testament. The principal actors were his wife, Helena, and his two daughters, Dionora and Catherina. In his spouses case, the procurator, “dominum Joannem Antonium de Pontremulo mercatorem Jadra“, probably a relative, should deal with all the issues arising from the restitution of Helena's dowry of 700 ducats. Cf. SB I, 1, 3, f148v, stipulated on 15 September, 1558.

Dionora was married to “domini Ludovici de Michulis aromatarij“, a spice trader originally from Ravenna – as evidenced by the document in which Dionora appointed “dominum Joannem Baptistam de Michulis de Rauena“ to serve as Dionora's procurator and deal “ad omnes et Singulas lites et causas quas haberunt habitura est causa et occasione dotis sua.“ Cf. DC I, 1, 6, f6v, stipulated on 17 April, 1558.

Finally, Catherina was married to “domini Francisci Sasseto“, and, after her father's death, appointed “ser Thomasium de Albis habitorem Jadra“, to represent her in her role as Lazarus's heir in the then-her businesses in Bari “cum omnibus et quibuscumque debitoribus praefati quondam domini Lazari.“ Cf. SM, I, 1, 5, f16r/f16v, stipulated on 15 October, 1558.

¹³¹ In the mid-1550s, for instance, “ser Andreas Postner de Gliubgliana Civis ac habitator Jadra“ sent “Prudentem Juvenem dominum Hieronimum Bassanum Jadrensis modo Venetijs commorandum“, in order to ratify the arbitration settlement reached with “ser Radium de Ricinio (...) ex causa tribus petias carise.“ Cf. SB I, 1, 1, f7r/f7v, stipulated on 10 November, 1556.

¹³² Mocellin, “Città fortificata,” 29–40.

La Brazza, the author), et magistro Piero quondam Zuan Ueloxa da Cherso (Cres/Cherso, the author) habitante a Curzola Taiapiere“ (master–stone–cutter/crusher) to go to the quarry near Kamenjani, a town within Zadar’s jurisdiction, and to cut the necessary quantity for the reconstruction of the loggia. Up–front, the two artisans received sixty ducats for their work for which “meser Gregorio Ciuallelli pro se et heredi suoi“, a Jadertine noble, declared to vouch for. In addition to this sum, the price of twenty–five solidi for each stone block of four feet lateral length was agreed upon. The building was to be paid for by the communal fiscal chamber. Concluding the contract the captain and the two contractors agreed that the artisans were to start working within fifteen days after the ratification of the notarial instrument.¹³³

These examples clearly demonstrate that an assumedly rather high degree of geographical mobility – as suspected by Dennis Romano and John Martin¹³⁴ – for a number of reasons existed among the less–represented groups, too. Any future study focusing on early modern Adriatic issues should bear these facts in mind.

Having dissected the constituent parties, let us now focus on the individual(s) upon whom the procuratorial powers were bestowed. What becomes immediately clear is that the aristocrats’ percentage of individuals assuming these duties increased by a quarter over the average of the constituent parties: 52.1 % of all individuals who were entrusted with various mandates were of noble descent.¹³⁵ As table 4.1 below shows, the most profound changes in the stipulating pattern happened because, on average, the total of intellectuals – that is, literate individuals – increased more than threefold to 22.3 % as compared to their share among the constituent parties (7.2 %). If one considers the legal implications of procuratorial representation, this is hardly surprising.

Another obvious conclusion is that while, on average, 25.4 % of all constituent parties were women, their corresponding percentage among procuratorial appointees shrinks to a mere 2.1 %. As these numbers suggest from the outset, the probability of a gender bias, that is, women appointing preferentially other women, is rather low to non–existent. The only resembling thing to be found is that despite the fact that roughly a quarter of all constituent parties were women, virtually all of them appointed male representatives.

¹³³ In addition, the location of the stipulation of said document is noted: “Fatto in Zara nel palazzo del detto celeberrimo Capitano.” Cf. SM I, 1, 10, stipulated on 2 October, 1564.

¹³⁴ Romano and Martin, “Reconsidering Venice,” 3.

¹³⁵ The exact numbers are 51 % for the 1540s, 53.5 % for the 1550s, and 51.9 % for the 1560s.

Table 4.1: Social and Functional Provenances, Procurators (1540 to 1569)

	nobles ^a	clergy ^b	artisans ^c	soldiers ^d	traders ^e	intell. ^f	rest ^g
1540s	80	22 (8)	18	13 (6)	3	63 (21)	26
1550s	137 (♀ 5)	29 (2)	15	17 (5)	11	61 (27)	60
1560s	143 (♀ 3)	32 (2)	18	30 (10)	17	72 (33)	63
	360 (♀ 8)	83 (12)	51	60 (21)	31	196 (81)	149

Sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JM (1545–1569), JMM (1540–1554), MAS (1544–1548), NC (1558–1567), ND (1540–1566), PB (1540–1569), PS (1545–1551), SB (1556–1565), SM (1555–1567). In all, 930 individual contracts were analysed.

Table 4.1 shows the over-all numbers of the procuratorial appointees of the procuratorial instruments as regards their social (nobles, clergy, artisans) as well as functional (soldiers, traders, intelligence) provenance from 1 January, 1540, to 31 December, 1569. All percentages are given with respect to the over-all percentages. All toponyms given below were found in the sources. All locations below were found in the sources, are referred to with their present toponyms and, where-ever possible, the corresponding Italian toponyms of the then-Venetian possessions are given in brackets. See also the appendix for more details.

- (a) Nobles refers to the social group of all constituent parties of noble descent from the following places Venice, Vicenza, Cividale del Friuli, Hungary, Cres/Cherso (Cherso), Krk/Veglia (Vegla), Rab/Arbe (Arbe), Pag/Pago (Pago), Zadar/Zara (Jadra), Šibenik/Sebenico (Sibenico), Trogir/Traù (Tragurij), Split/Spalato (Spalato), Hvar/Lesina (Pharo, Lesina), and Kotor/Cattaro (Catharo). The numbers given are the over-all numbers of individuals of noble descent and the corresponding number in brackets is the number of women among those (in case only women were the constituent party, in all other cases, women were counted in the over-all figure. The bottom line gives the combined three-decade number.
- (b) Clergy refers to those individuals belonging to the ecclesiastical parts of society. The numbers given are the over-all numbers of individuals and/or institutions the corresponding number in brackets is the number of individuals of noble descent among those. The bottom line gives the combined three-decade number.
- (c) Artisans refers to all craftsmen as defined by their title magister (master) and/or handcraft description. The numbers given are the over-all number of artisans and the corresponding number in brackets is the number of women among those (in case only women were the constituent party, in all other cases, women were counted in the over-all figure. The bottom line gives the combined three-decade number.
- (d) Soldiers refers to all military personnel irrespective of their social, geographical, and rank-related provenance. The numbers given are the over-all numbers of individuals and the corresponding number in brackets is the number of individuals of noble descent among those. The bottom line gives the combined three-decade number.
- (e) Traders refers to the number of individuals engaged in commerce as defined by their job descriptions aromatiarius (spice trader), bazariotus (small retailer), and mercator (merchant). The numbers given are the over-all numbers of individuals. The bottom line gives the combined three-decade number.
- (f) Intell. refers to the percentage of all individuals assumed to have been literate who, for practical purposes, have been put into the category ‘intelligence’ including the following job descriptions: advocatus/causidicus/solicitor (advocate/lawyer/solicitor), cancellarius (chancellor), gabellotus (tax collector), leges utriusque doctor (doctor of both laws), notarius (notary public), scribe (scribe), and artium et medicinae doctor (medical doctor). The numbers given are the over-all numbers of individuals and the corresponding number in brackets is the number of individuals of noble descent among those. The bottom line gives the combined three-decade number.
- (g) Rest refers to number of individuals belonging to neither group above. The bottom line gives the combined three-decade number.

In only three cases female constituents entrusted other women with procuratorial duties. First, when “dona Clara fila quondam ser Dominici de Petrogna de Justinopolis (Koper/Capodistria, the author)“, referred to as “mulier sui juris“, tasked “donam Marietam eius sororem uxorem ser Nicolai Mirogogno de Justinopolj“, to collect outstanding payments from various non-named individuals in Labin (Albona) and Koper. The appointee resided in Koper, suggesting by Marietta being referred to as wife of a native of this town, Nicolaus Mirogogna, which also

helps explaining the main reasons behind the appointment. She was to be trusted as she was the constituent's sister and had the necessary connections to and potentially the necessary backup of her husband, if required in the destination area.¹³⁶

Second, “domina Lucretia quondam spectabilis domini Federici de Grisogonis“, also known under the family name “de Bartholatijs“¹³⁷, a Jadertine noblewoman, tasked “dominam Marchettam de Bartholatijs“ to regain her mother's dowry in the mid-1550s. As the surname suggests, the two stipulating parties were related by kinship ties. In addition, no further details were written down, which in turn allows the educated guess that the involved parties did know each other and knew about the implications left unwritten.¹³⁸

The third and last example involved “dona Margarita uxor quondam ser Joannis Rachouich olim civis et habitator Jadre.“ Acting on her own behalf as “mulier Sui juris“, she appointed “Magnificam dominam Zanettam uxor quondam Magnifici domini Francisci Dandolo“, a Venetian patrician and Jadertine resident, to collect all outstanding sold payments “ab officio camerae Armamenti Illustrissimi Ducis domini Venetiarum.“¹³⁹ This destination and the task to be fulfilled leads to the conclusion that Margarita's late husband Johannes was involved with the Venetian military, reinforced by the additional information provided. The procuratrix was to obtain “omnem et quascumque quantitatem, quam ipse quondam ser Joannes habere debeat de ratione servitutis per eum prestitae et facte in Brighentino patrono ser Nicolao Nouello.“ In addition, the listing of the office as destination implies intimate knowledge of what

¹³⁶ Cf. PB I, 1, 7, f44v, stipulated on 19 January, 1540.

¹³⁷ Federicus Grisogonus alias de Bartholatiis (Federik Grisogono, 1472 to 1538) was a Zadar-born academic, artium et medicinae doctor (medical doctor), and a professor at the prestigious University of Padua, working on fields as diverse as astrology, cosmography, mathematics, and musicology. One of his writings, a treatise on fever pathology, had the following title *De modo collegiandi, pronosticandi, et curandi febres, nec non de humana felicitate ac denique de fluxu maris lucubrationes* and was first published in Venice in 1528. Since its copyright already expired, a complete scanned copy can, for instance, be obtained via the website of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

His social posture must be considered very high as compared to his fellow Jadertines, a fact reinforced by the notion that Federicus's name is mentioned in virtually all relevant documents pertaining to the de Bartholatiis (Bartolačić) branch of the Grisogonus clan. For a reference of the Bartolačić connection, cf. JM I, 1, f18r/f18v, stipulated on 9 May, 1546.

See also the pages devoted to Federicus in the third volume of *Prošlost Zadra*, see Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 310–1, for more details follow Mirko D. Grmek, “Hrvati i sveučilište u Padovi [Croatians and the University of Padua],“ *Ljetopis JAZU* 62 (1957): 336–74, as well as Žarko Dadić, ed., *Zbornik radova o Federiku Grisogonu zadarskom učenjaku, 1472–1538* [Collection of works about the Jadertine scholar Federicus Grisogonus, 1472–1538], (Zagreb: Institut za povijest znanosti, 1974).

¹³⁸ Cf. JM I, 3, f90v, stipulated on 25 August, 1555.

¹³⁹ Again, Venice's payment behaviour (or lack thereof) was at the heart of this appointment.

duties to conduct where, despite the fact that these information have been omitted by the notary public.¹⁴⁰

4.1. The Intellectual Elite

The second large structural issue is the fact that the intellectual elites made up a segment of procuratorial appointees which, on average, is three times larger compared to their respective share among the constituent parties. Despite the fact that the total number of individuals varies over the entire period under survey – especially the difference between the 1540s and the subsequent decades is evident –, their relative number remains stable for the 1550s and 1560s. While the numbers changed, one fact remains clearly visible: During the first ten years, the average percentage of procuratorial appointees of noble descent was slightly less than a third. While the following decade saw this share inch upwards to constitute a third, the 1560s witnessed the continuation of this tendency as 45.2 % of all the members of this functional group were of aristocratic birth.

In this context, two issues must be considered, first the very fact that these numbers address individual contracts, not individual persons per se. In total numbers, the intelligence community was never as large as the percentages – on average 21.5 % over the entire three decades – suggest. The total number of appointed literate individuals residing in Zadar appearing in the sources was twenty-eight out of circa 6,000 to 6,500 individuals.¹⁴¹ Nevertheless their small numbers, they were responsible for 130 individual appointments. Since the total number of individual contracts appointing members of the intellectual elite is 196, these twenty-eight persons make up almost two thirds of all appointees belonging to this particular socio-functional group.

Second, subjecting procuratorial records to analysis based not only on social class but also on the functional issues reveals another set of details: Despite the fact that the notaries public commanded such authority and social posture, the 930 procuratorial contracts reveal that usually they were not the first choice among those appointed as representatives. The reasons behind this particular aspect may be that these individuals were of such importance to the functioning of society that if they left, even for one assignment in, say, a neighbouring town, it would leave a hole in the organisational fabric of their community of origin. This appears to have

¹⁴⁰ All the information cited above was directly from the notarial instrument, cf. DC I, 1, 3, f24r/f24v, stipulated on 3 October, 1555.

¹⁴¹ Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 261–2.

been the rule of the thumb, however, there were notaries, for instance Marcus Aurelius Sonzonius¹⁴², a Jadertine notary public and causidicus (attorney/barrister), was assigned a total of eleven different procuratorial mandates.

Table 5: Notaries assuming Procuratorial Responsibilities (1540 to 1569)

name ^a	status ^b	origins ^c	occupation ^d	app. ^e
Augustinus Martius	civis	Venice	notarius, supramassarius munitionum	2
Gabriel Cernotta	nobilis	Rab/Arbe	notarius	1
Franciscus Thomaseus	civis		notarius	1
Johannes Mazzarellus ¹	nobilis	Trogir/Trau	notarius, cancellarius communitatis	1
Marcus Sonzonius ²	civis		notarius, causidicus	11
Nicolaus Canali	civis		notarius, cancellarius rectoris	2
Nicolaus Drasmileus	civis		notarius	3
Petrus de Bassano	civis		notarius	5
Simon Mazzarellus ³	nobilis	Trogir/Trau	notarius, cancellarius communitatis	7
				33

Sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JM (1545–1569), JMM (1540–1554), MAS (1544–1548), NC (1558–1567), ND (1540–1566), PB (1540–1569), PS (1545–1551), SB (1556–1565), SM (1555–1567). In all, 930 individual contracts were analysed.

Table 5 shows the nine Jadertine notaries appearing as procuratorial assignees; see also the appendix.

- (a) Lists all resident notaries public identified by their job description notarius.
- (b) The status column refers to the social affiliation of the listed individuals. Civis (citizen) refers to citizenship in Zadar, nobilis (noble) refers to affiliation in the eponymous social stratum, clerus (clergy), if none is given then there is no evidence in the notarial records, however, since notaries public were required to be permanently resident, all of them were either residents, citizens, or both.
- (c) Lists the origins of the individuals, Venice refers to Augustinus Martius, a Jadertine citizen and responsible for gunpowder oversight¹⁴³, Rab/Arbe refers to Gabriel Cernotta, a noble of Rab/Arbe (Arbe) and notary public in Zadar,¹⁴⁴ Trogir/Trau (Tragurij) refers to father (Johannes) and son (Simon), both of noble descent as well as communal chancellors, citizens, and residents in Zadar.¹⁴⁵
- (d) Lists the general job title and any other information provided for in a number of documents indicating the following other occupations: supramassarius munitionum (official in charge of munition), causidicus (attorney/barrister), cancellarius communitatis (communal chancellor), cancellarius rectoris (ducal chancellor).
- (e) App. lists the number of individual appointments over the entire three-decade period from 1 January, 1540, to 31 December, 1569, on the basis are the above-mentioned 930 individual procuratorial instruments.

¹⁴² For instance, in autumn of 1541, “magister Andreas Nunchouich peliparius quondam magistri Simonis“, a master-furrier/pelt-monger, appointed “dominum Marcum Aurelium Sonzonium, causidicum“ to represent him; no further information is given in the contract. Cf. PB I, 1, 8, f16v, stipulated on 19 September, 1541.

¹⁴³ Cf. NC I, 1, C, stipulated on 2 January, 1541.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. DC I, 2, 4, f6v/f7r, stipulated on 27 June, 1562.

¹⁴⁵ There is an abundance of information about the Mazzarellus/Mazzarello family, see for instance the rental and procuratorial instruments of August, 1541. The procuratorial contract has both Johannes and his son Simon jointly appointing a procurator, “ser Jacobum de Leonardis Civem et habitorem Tragurij“, to represent the constituents in all dealings in their common hometown. This must be viewed in conjunction with the rental contract, in which the same Jacobus rents “omnes, et singulos fructus redditus, et proventus possessionum, et terrenorum ipsius Locatoris positorum In comitatu Tragurij.“ Subsequently, the tenant was appointed to deal with all issues arising in Trogir while the landlords were in Zadar. Cf. ND I, 1, D, stipulated on 3 August, 1541 (two individual notarial instruments).

Also, among the noble families of Trogir, the “Mazzarelli“ were noted, for instance, by the Venetian legates. Apart from the “Vitturi, li quali hanno origine da Venezia“, the other noble families of Trogir are described as fra i quali è poca fiduzza“ – nevertheless, both Johannes and his son Simon became communal chancellors in Zadar. See the report by Johannes Baptista Justiniano and Antonius Diedo, in Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 208.

All other notaries – Augustinus Martius, Gabriel Cernotta, Franciscus Thomaseus, Johannes Mazzarellus, Nicolaus Canali, Petrus de Bassano, Nicolaus Drasmileus, and Simon Mazzarellus – were appointed much less often to represent individuals than the other members of the intellectual group. Obviously, being a notary public commanded a certain degree of importance and social status but also prevented these individuals from, once settled down, being as geographically mobile as other members of the intellectual group. The only exception to this tendency appears to be Marcus Aurelius Sonzonius – who was active in Zadar from 1544 to 1548 but of whom only fifteen contracts were preserved. It is probable that this contributed to the fact that he was the only notary public to be appointed so much more often than his fellow colleagues.¹⁴⁶

Table 5.1: Other Intellectuals assuming Procuratorial Duties (1540 to 1569)

name ^a	status ^b	origins ^c	occupation ^d	app. ^e
Bernardinus Carnarutus	nobilis	Zadar/Zara	causidicus	2
Camillus Rosa, de Rosa	nobilis	Zadar/Zara	secretarius provisoris classis	1
Doymus Cedulinus	nobilis	Zadar/Zara	causidicus	6
Franciscus Fumatus	nobilis	Zadar/Zara	leges utriusque doctor	11
Franciscus Justus, de Justis	civis		scriba camerae fiscalis	1
Franciscus Petrouich	civis		causidicus	12
Hieronymus de Bassano	civis		causidicus	10
Hieronymus de Cortesijs	nobilis	Rab/Arbe	causidicus, civis jadr.	15 ¹
Johannes de Begna	nobilis	Zadar/Zara	leges utriusque doctor, eques	1
Johannes de Venerio	nobilis	Venice	scontrus camerae fiscalis	1
Johannes dictus bon datiarum			officium stimarie vini forensis	1
Johannes Jovinus Servianus	civis	Venice	leges utriusque doctor	3
Johannes de Rosa	nobilis	Zadar/Zara	leges utriusque doctor, eques	15 ²
Leonardus Fadinus			causidicus	1
Marcus Raymundinus	clerus		decretorum doctor	1
Nicolaus de Claudis			cancellarius capitanei	1
Octavianus Monaldus	nobilis	Pesaro	artium et medicinae doctor	1
Pasinus de Pasinis	civis		leges utriusque doctor	4
Petrus Fanfoneus	nobilis	Zadar/Zara	leges utriusque doctor	8
Sigismundus de Seratis		Pontremoli	artium et medicinae doctor	1
Theodorus Adraino		Krk/Veglia	scriba camerae fiscalis	1
				97

Sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JM (1545–1569), JMM (1540–1554), MAS (1544–1548), NC (1558–1567), ND (1540–1566), PB (1540–1569), PS (1545–1551), SB (1556–1565), SM (1555–1567). In all, 930 individual contracts were analysed.

¹⁴⁶ See also the appendix for detailed maps, tables, and statistics.

Table 5.1 shows the 21 individuals who were not notaries public appearing in the procuratorial documents as assignees for the entire three-decade timespan. See also the appendix for more details.

- (a) Lists the names of all resident intellectuals who were not public notaries. Some of the given individuals were rather prominent, for instance Johannes de Rosa¹⁴⁷ or Bernardinus Carnarutus¹⁴⁸, others were less known.
- (b) The status column refers to the social affiliation of the listed individuals. Civis (citizen) refers to citizenship in Zadar, nobilis (noble) refers to affiliation in the eponymous social status, clerus (clergy), if none is given then there is no evidence in the notarial records, however, since notaries public were required to be permanently resident, there exists a high possibility that the persons above cited without status were of either habitator (resident) and/or civis status.
- (c) Lists the origins of the individuals, Venice indicates provenance thereof (nota bene: a branch of the Venerio family was also resident in Zadar), Rab/Arbe refers to “dominus Hieronymus de Cortesijs,” a noble of Rab/Arbe (Arbe) and resident of Zadar; Pesaro refers to Octavianus Monaldus, a noble thereof and the city's medicus physicus salariatus jadrensis (communal physician).¹⁴⁹
- (d) Lists the job title and/or other information as regards education or other provided in a number of documents indicating the following occupations: causidicus (attorney or barrister), leges utriusque doctor (doctor of both laws), artium et medicinae doctor (medical doctor), decretorum doctor (doctor of Canon Law), officium stimarie vini forensis (official responsible for the import of foreign wines), scriba camera fiscalis (scribe in the fiscal chamber). The predominance of the legal profession is apparent.
- (e) App. lists the number of individual appointments over the entire three-decade period from 1 January, 1540, to 31 December, 1569, on the basis are the above-mentioned 930 individual procuratorial instruments.
- (1) Hieronymus de Cortesijs was appointed twice jointly with Franciscus Fumatus.
- (2) Johannes de Rosa was jointly appointed with Petrus de Bassano and Franciscus Justus one time each.

The other group of individuals in this group, persons of high social posture and corresponding education who were not notaries public enter into focus now. Often, these people tend to be overlooked as long as they did not write books or acquired fame otherwise, thus the following section attempts to an overview and a tentative assessment of these men. The most obvious reason for these individuals to not being discussed more broadly is probably because they are much harder to identify than any notary public, author, or famous scholar. Detailed analysis of the notarial records allow for in-depth survey of these individuals, thus much more information about early modern Dalmatian elites can be obtained. One way to quantitatively assess the intelligence of a commune, as the present study emphasises, is to include procuratorial instruments in the analysis.

The first conclusion is that the legal professionals, that is attorneys, barristers, and university-educated legal professionals make up slightly less than two thirds of the appointees. In the context of accessibility, the nobles' percentage is roughly the same as the relation between

¹⁴⁷ Johannes de Rosa (Ivan Rosa) was among the most prominent members of Zadar's aristocratic social stratum, referred to throughout the primary sources as eques (knight) and leges utriusque doctor (doctor of both laws), a indispensable individual in Zadar's social fabric, commanding considerable social posture. He is discussed in more detail in part 4. For the reference to his education, cf. DC I, 1, 2, f4r/f4v, stipulated on 2 November, 1554.

¹⁴⁸ Bernardinus Carnarutus (Barne/Brne Karnarutić), who has been mentioned in the introductory section about Dalmatian Historiography, was a nobleman of Jadertine origin, writer, and soldier with the Hungarian-Croatian Ban, Nikola Šubić Zrinski/Zrínyi Miklós. He is discussed in more detail in part 4.

¹⁴⁹ In spring of 1559, “dominus Joannes Peregrinus nobilis Catharensis” (of Kotor/Cattaro) appointed “excellen-tem Artium et medicinae doctorem dominum Octavianum Monaldum de Pisauro medicum physicum Salariatum Jadre.” The appointee was to collect all outstanding (but not specified) sums of money. Cf. DC I, 1, 7, f3r, stipulated on 3 March, 1559.

legal professionals and other members of the above-mentioned groups.¹⁵⁰ Interestingly, though, a significant number of appointments was made in the persons of “ser Franciscum Petrouich”¹⁵¹ and “dominum Hieronymum de Bassano”¹⁵², both Jadertine citizens and attorneys. While the former appears to have been active in Zadar even before 1 January, 1540, his last appearance in the procuratorial records is from the end of March, 1543.¹⁵³

In the latter’s case, it is known that he was the brother of notary public Petrus de Bassano, their father, Marcus Antonius, was an attorney, too.¹⁵⁴ Also, Hieronymus appears in the procuratorial instruments in the mid-1550s¹⁵⁵ and remained active until the end of the period under survey, as evidenced by an instrument from mid-May of 1569. In it, “dominae Bianca et Julia filie et heredes quondam domini Francisci de Rossettis de Pontremulo civis Jadre”, conjointly appointed Hieronymus, specifically referred to as *causidicus* (attorney/barrister), to represent them as their new procurator generalis.¹⁵⁶

What is clear, though, is that a real bias towards one or other social and/or functional group relative to the individuals assigned was inexistent. The only, albeit major exception was that the nobility from all over the *Stato da mar* and beyond the Venetian dominions by far dominated procuratorial appointments. If one considers the necessity of social and/or functional status, then this was assumed before this thesis, now there is empirical evidence. What is also important to notice is, as table 5.1 shows, that both nobles and non-noble members of the intelligence group on average make up six out of ten procurators. And, as demonstrated above,

¹⁵⁰ In 57 individual contracts the above-mentioned nobles were appointed as opposed to 35 individual contracts in which the above-mentioned non-nobles were appointed. The percentages are 62 % vs. 38 %.

¹⁵¹ For instance, in summer of 1540, “magister Georgius Ripich Cerdo arbensis (of Rab/Arbe, the author) ad praesens habitator Jadre uti maritus et Coniuncta persona dona Marie eius uxoris” needed legal representation and appointed “ser Franciscum Petrouich Causidicum” to do so. Cf. ND I, 1, B, stipulated on 19 July, 1540.

¹⁵² As an example, in summer of 1557, “Petrus Antonius de Ferra nobilis Jadre” needed a representative “in causa criminali assiste in putationis mortis quondam dominae Philipe eius uxoris contra ipsum constituentis.” His choice fell onto “dominum Hieronymum de Bassano”, who was to travel to Venice and argue on behalf of Petrus Antonius “coram celeberrimis dominis advocatoribus comunis”, obviously, because of his client’s alleged participation in the death of his wife. Cf. JM I, 4, f152r/f152v, stipulated on 22 July, 1557.

¹⁵³ Cf. ND I, 1, E, stipulated on 28 March, 1543.

¹⁵⁴ In autumn of 1556, “dominus Petrus Bassanus civis et Notarius Jadra” appointed “dominum Hieronimum Bassanum eius fratrem modo Venetiae comorandum” as the former required legal representation. Hieronymus was to represent his brother “ad offitium Advocariam Inclitam Urbis Veneitarum contra et adversus Reverendum dominum Albertum Duymium”, caused by a referenced decision issued “in excellentissimo consilio Rogatorum, diei xxv. Junij 1557.” Cf. SB I, 1, 1, f9r, stipulated on 16 November, 1556.

As regards Marcus Antonius de Bassano, in autumn of 1541 his wife, “domina Samaritana uxor quondam domini Marci Antonij de Bassiano olim Causidicj Jadre” sold 4 gonjaj (morgen) of land (a vineyard near “Cerodolo”, present-day Zerodo) to her son, Petrus de Bassano, for the total price of 160 libras parvorum. Cf. AM I, 1, B, stipulated on 23 October, 1541.

¹⁵⁵ It was in the (same) fall of 1556 when “ser Andreas Postner de Gliubgliana Civis ac habitator Jadra” appointed Hieronymus, as above “modo Venetijs commorandum”, to resolve Andreas’s legal feud with “ser Radium de Ricinis” in front of the relevant tribunals of Venice. Cf. SB I, 1, 1, f7r/f7v, stipulated on 10 October, 1556.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. HM I, 4, f13r, stipulated on 14 May, 1569.

these two categories were, by no means, not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, intellectuals of blue blood were quite common. Another interesting aspect is that there were no significant biases – other than the sheer numbers of stipulating nobles as opposed to the commoners – over the entire period under investigation as to one group preferring their likes more than individuals of other groups to go about the constituents' businesses elsewhere. As regards the nobility, this caveat must of course be added, however, as table 5.1 above also shows – no bias in real numbers of assignments towards intellectuals of aristocratic descent existed, as clearly evidenced, for instance, by the two above-mentioned attorneys.

Another related issue is upon whom procuratorial duties were assigned to in the remaining seventy-three cases? In this context, the same questions apply – who were these individuals? Where did they come from and did a correlation between geographical and social provenance and the destination exist? First, let us examine these individuals, too, in order to comprehend the size and dynamics of the procuratorial-related aspects of Jadertine life.

In all, this group of appointees is only about half as large as the former, totalling sixty-six individual procuratorial appointments. At first glance, the heterogenous composition is telling. These assignments were given to (at least) fifty-five different individuals (in some cases more than one individual was appointed). Consequently, all of those procurators having been named twice (or more) stand out.

Among these cases is, for instance, “dominus Camillus de Pechiaro quondam domini Joannis nobilis Jadre uti heres pro dimidia ut asservit quondam domini Darij eius fratris.” On this occasion, he appointed “dominum Aloysium Cesarium de Opitergio (Oderzo, the author) sollicitatorem causarum in inclita Venetiarum Civitatis” to obtain the former's rightful share of the late brother's inheritance.¹⁵⁷ The other half of Darius's possessions was to be inherited by the third brother, “dominus Franciscus de Pechiaro” who, conjointly with Camillus, appointed the same Aloysius Cesarius to represent them in the Venetian courts of law in order to sort out all differences.¹⁵⁸ Only a couple of months later, a third instrument was required as “domina Catherina filia quondam excellentis domini Federici de Grisogonis”¹⁵⁹, the second wife of the late Darius de Pechiaro, was causing trouble. Again, Aloysius Cesarius was tasked

¹⁵⁷ Cf. SM I, 1, 6, stipulated on 25 September, 1559.

¹⁵⁸ Two times the same individual, Aloysius Cesarius, was appointed procurator on these occasions. For the second instrument, cf. SM I, 1, 6, stipulated on 2 November, 1559.

¹⁵⁹ A ratification instrument written in autumn of 1551 clearly refers to “Nobilis domina Catherina filia quondam excellentis domini Federici Grisogoni quondam domini Antonij et uxor domini Joannis de Nassis quondam domini Nicolai.” Cf. PS I, 1, f25v/f26r, stipulated on 2 September, 1551.

to represent Camillus de Pechiaro in a Venetian court.¹⁶⁰ While there is not clue as to the outcome of this, the root of the legal suit was the resitution of Catherina's dowry – which, as the instrument confirming its receipt by her late second husband, totaled the sum of 490 ducats “in pecunia numerata” as well as both mobile and immobile goods.¹⁶¹ Obviously an amount more than enough as to challenge next-of-kin, especially given the fact that this was more than the average Jadertine noble earned per annum.¹⁶² In this context, a dowry of such value appeared to have been very much worth the fight, even between next-of-kin.

More or less the same story can be told about “dominus Joannes de Soppe quondam spectabili domini Simonis”, originally from the eponymous aristocratic family in Zadar, he was working in Kotor (Cattaro) as communal chancellor around 1540.¹⁶³ By 1542, Johannes had come back to his hometown and was tasked by “Caterina filia et heres testamentaria, ut dixit, quondam Joannis Margitich de villa Bibigne (Bibinje/Bibigne, the author), et uxor Joannis Ostoych filij Viti de villa Bibigne”, to nullify the actions taken by “Michaeli Margitich eius patruo” (paternal uncle) and subsequently divide her father's inheritance equally among her father's brother and herself.¹⁶⁴ On another occasion after the former chancellor of Kotor (Cat-

¹⁶⁰ For the third instrument, cf. NC I, 2, f5v/f6r, stipulated on 28 January, 1560.

It is also worth noting that Catherina was already married – referred to as “uxor in primo matrimonio quondam domini Joannis de Nassis quondam Nicolai” –, “dominus Darius de Pechiaro” was her second husband. In addition, while we do not learn of the outcome of the above-referenced proceedings, the same Catherina appointed a procurator, “dominum Bernardinum de Begna dicti spectabilis domini Georgii”, the brother of her third husband, described as “ad praesens uxor Nobili Jadrensis domini Joannis de Begna spectabili Geoergij.” of her own only a couple of years later, in 1565, this time to obtain all money and possessions, in all the considerable sum of 490 ducats, still in the house of her late (first) husband, which by then was in the hands of “domina Slava ipsius dominae constituentis et dicti quondom domini Joannis filiae.” Cf. ND I, 2, 4, f49v, stipulated on 24 September, 1565.

For the reference to the worth of Catherina's goods and the instrument in which she confirmed the receipt of her dowry (those 490 ducats in specie as well as both mobile and immobile goods), cf. SM I, 1, 2, stipulated on 25 July, 1557.

¹⁶¹ Cf. SM I, 1, 2, stipulated on 25 July, 1557.

¹⁶² Johannes Baptista Justiniano and Antonius Diedo, in 1553, stated that the richest three families – “li Tetrici, Rosa, Civallelli” – disposed of annual incomes between 500 and 700 ducats, all other families earned between 100 and 300 ducats per year. Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 197.

¹⁶³ Returning to his hometown of Zadar in early 1542, “Circumpectus dominus Joannes de Soppe quondam spectabili domini Simonis nobilis Jadre Cancellarius magnifici communitatis Cathari”, had not been paid for his public services in Kotor. Consequently, he appointed his brother, “discretum Juvenem dominum Hieronymum de Soppe eius fratrem (...) se transferendum ad Civitatem Cathari” to obtain all outstanding payments “a Camera fiscali Cathari.” Cf. ND I, 1, E, stipulated on 21 June, 1542.

Interestingly, Venice's bad payment behaviour did not only affect soldiers – as evidenced by the fact that in early 1543, Johannes re-appointed his brother Hieronymus to finally get hold of “omnes pecunias salarij sui Tam Temporis elapsi tamquam futuri.” Specifically, the office of Kotor's communal chancellor is named as one of the past assignments for which Johannes has not been paid for until then. Cf. ND I, 1, E, stipulated on 10 February, 1543.

¹⁶⁴ Michael Margitich had already commissioned Johannes Mazzarellus, Zadar's communal chancellor, to divide these inherited goods, obviously not to the liking of Caterina. Cf. ND I, 1, E, stipulated on 12 November, 1542.

taro) returned to Zadar, “Jacobus Clarich de villa Podi (Podi/Podi, the author) territorij Jadre“, appointed Johannes de Soppe to be his procurator generalis.¹⁶⁵

A third example involved the Venetian patrician “dominum Julium Trivisano“ (Trevisan, the author) Civem et causidicum Venetum“, tasked twice by Jadertines. First, “domina Francischina uxor quondam domini Berti Charanina“ (or Caranina), and her daughters “Paulina“ and “Helisabeth.“ On the first occasion, Julius was to represent the constituent parties as the late Bertus' legal successors in their dispute “cum ser Dominico Uambirascosi merzario venetiarum ad insignum draconis.“ Unfortunately, no particular reason is given, however, since both the late Bertus as well as Dominicus were merchants, it is likely that the conflict arose over a business deal gone awry.¹⁶⁶ In the second instance, the above-mentioned daughters, both married to Jadertine merchants – Paulina to Julius Toninus, Elisabeth to Bernardinus Tirabuschi (Tirabosco)¹⁶⁷ – and heirs to their late father appoint Julius Trivisano and “dominum Vivianum Barlendi mercatorem Venetum“, to ratify the agreement reached between the heirs of Bertus and “dominum Dominicum de Gamberarijs“. Apparently, the commercial ties and financial activities did not die together with Bertus Caranina.¹⁶⁸

In general, most of the other cases in which a non-resident intellectual was appointed revolved around business in the hometown of the appointees. This particular feature appears to be rather obvious, however, it creates a certain feeling of the dimensions of the various interactions across cultural, geographical, and social divisions. Thus it becomes possible, apart from the few examples above, to re-imagine, for instance, a part of the tour of duty of “magnifico domino Andream Zane quondam magnifico Joanne Aloysij“, a Venetian patrician once

¹⁶⁵ Cf. ND I, 1, E, stipulated on 19 December, 1542.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. ND I, 2, 2, f31r/f31v, stipulated on 25 April, 1564.

¹⁶⁷ Paulina was married to “domini Julij Tonini Civis, et mercatoris Jadre“, Elisabeth's husband, too, was a member of Zadar's mercantile community, as the latter is referenced as “uxor domini Bernardini Tirabuschi (or Tirabosco, the author) Civis, et mercatoris Jadre.“ Cf. ND I, 2, 2, f31r/f31v, stipulated on 25 April, 1564.

¹⁶⁸ In early 1565, Paulina and Elisabeth appointed Julius Trivisano “ad nominem ipsarum Constituentium, et pro eis, ac quaque earum Laudandum, approbandum, Confirmandum, et ratificandum quoddam Instrumentum compositionis, Concordij, et transactionis factum, ut dixerunt, Inter eundem dominum Julium Trivisanum, et dominum Vivianum Barlendi mercatorem venetum (...) ex una ac dominum Dominicum de Gamberarijs, et filios mercatores venetos ex alia.“ Cf. ND I, 2, 3, f31v, stipulated on 5 February, 1565.

serving as quaestor Antibari (chamberlain) of Bar in present-day Montenegro (Crna Gora).¹⁶⁹ Or to speculate – or, rather, guess – at the relations between “strenuus dominus Joannes Ulani de Neapolj Caput stratiotarum Jadrae“, who appointed “excellentem dominum Joannem Euretologo phisicum Corcirensis“ (of Korčula/Curzola), especially considering the latter’s task. He should not only obtain all money owed to the constituent in Korčula but also “a domino Jacobo de Aurani Corcirensis“ as well as the heirs of “quondam ser Damiano Androminda de Neapolj.“¹⁷⁰

This listing could continue for some time, however, it is much more important to understand the underlying structural issue. For a variety of reasons, procurators from abroad were assigned with specific tasks, at times, it may be assumed, personally unbeknownst to the constituent parties. Also, while the relation between the individuals appointing representatives is in many cases subject to speculation, the uniting facet of these procuratorial parties was their (intimate) knowledge of the destination area. This was not only true of both patricians and commoners, especially in cases taking place in Venice itself, but happened concerning virtually all other places, too.

¹⁶⁹ In spring of 1567, “dona Maria uxor quondam Luca Luchissa de Neapoli Romania“ recounted her previous encounters with Andrea Zane. A couple of years prior, “in civitate Antibari sibi mutuo datos fuisse a magnifico domino Andrea Zane quondam magnifici Joannis Aloysij Tunc Temporis questore in dicta civitate“, worth 32 ducats. Having paid back the money by 15 July, 1566, the instrument also cites the ducal letters accepting Maria’s late husband into Venetian military service, dated 21 January, 1541. Sixteen years later, Andrea was appointed procurator by Maria and sent to Venice “ad comparendum coram quibuscumque celeberrimis dominis Judicibus, officij, et Magistratibus civitatis Venetiarum et ad pedes Serenissimi Principis ad agendum, petendum et omnia ac singula Jura sua procurandum etiam si Talia forent quo mandatum exigent magis spetiale, promittens dicta dona Maria Se esse creditricem dicti officij de eius provisione.“ Again, Venice’s payment behaviour was at the root of this appointment. Cf. SM I, 1, 12, stipulated on 6 May, 1567.

In the light of more recent scholarly efforts, it is necessary to direct the reader to the *Rulers of Venice* database as well as Monique O’Connell’s study, *Men of Empire*.

¹⁷⁰ In autumn of 1540, Johannes Ulani tasked his procurator “pro eo exigendum, percipiendum, et recuperandum, Chorcire omnia, et quacumque denaria, res, et bona ipsius domini Constituentis a quacumque persona quavis de Causa sibj dare debente, ac praecipue a domino Jacobo de Aurani Corcirensis, et ab heredibus, sive bonatenentibus quondam ser Damiani Androminda de Neapolj.“ Cf. ND I, 1, C, stipulated on 30 October, 1540.

Synopsis

Part two investigates the geographical areas and ranges in which Zadar's urban elites operated. The first segment gives a short overview of Adriatic networks prior to the period under investigation (1540 to 1569) and, for comparative reasons, cites other studies focusing on the areas, means, and ranges of communication within Venice's maritime dominions during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The second segment further dissects the roles of the contracting parties appearing in the sources via social status and functional affiliation in order to further our understanding of the mechanisms of communication in the early modern Adriatic.

The common basis for the network analysis are the 930 individual procuratorial contracts, written by Zadar's notaries public between 1540 and 1569. Absent comparative studies about the commercial and mercantile connections during the sixteenth century based on quantitative analysis, the procuratorial appointments offer a first insight into the geographical and socio-functional provenances, ranges, and destinations of the respective contracting parties. On average, four out of five constituent parties and slightly more than half of all procuratorial appointees originated from within Jadertine jurisdiction, and overwhelmingly dwelled in the city proper. As regards their destinations, Zadar and its subject territories importance, while pre-eminent during the 1540s, lost this top spot over the ensuing decades. Consequently, destinations within the regional neighbourhood (i.e. Albania–Dalmatia) and Venice (including its Terraferma dominions) gain additional prominence. All other areas both under Venetian control as well as under the dominion of another power remained constant in their insignificance. In addition, detailed indications as regards the geographical provenance of both contracting parties highlights not only the ties of Zadar's urban elites to their counterparts all across the Adriatic. Much more, given the large number of constituent parties from within Jadertine jurisdiction, indicative statements about the populated areas in Zadar's hinterlands are possible (cf. also parts 3 and 4).

Subsequently, the economic, legal, and social motivations for the appointment of procuratorial of both secular and ecclesiastical representatives are surveyed. And while these distinctions may appear to be logical, the reality as described by the sources presents a much more diversified picture of often intertwined aspects and motivations. Testifying to the importance of intellectual and/or elevated social posture in these circumstances, there appears to have been a certain relation between the amount of money to be obtained, the social provenance of

the constituent parties, and the (legal) delicacy of the matter at hand and the intellectual, geographical, and/or social provenances of the appointees. In addition, the role of members of the clergy, for practical purposes combining institutions such as churches, convents, and hospitals with individuals, is surveyed in order to shed light on the “almost unexplored field of the patricians’ activity (...) the Church.”¹⁷¹

The second segment is dedicated to the activities and interactions of ecclesiastical, secular, and functional elites within the societal fabric of Zadar. Assessing a variety of aspects as regards the appointments of members of the clergy, the nobility, and the non-nobles, the focus here lies on the functional group of the intellectual elite. Defined by means of literacy and education, this group includes individuals of all three mentioned groups as well as individuals from beyond Zadar’s jurisdiction. This particular group is then further split up into those procuratorial appointees who were notaries public and those who were not, highlighting aspects as different as the three above-mentioned categories suggest. As the illustrative examples suggest, this section addresses issues as multi-faceted as the geographical, legal, and social provenances of both the constituent parties and their procuratorial appointees. And while in some cases the relation between the contracting individuals remains a secret, on many instances the reasons for procuratorial appointment are easy to identify. Apart from the fundamental aspects of educational qualification and social posture, the most important of these factors are, little surprisingly, business relations, kinship ties, and patronage relations. All of these aspects combined lend the procuratorial networks a seemingly familiar modern note.

¹⁷¹ Budak, “Urban élites,” 195.

Part III: Political and Economic Activities of Zadar's Urban Elites

5. Interactions of Zadar's Urban Elites

It is hard to assess reliable numbers as to how many people lived in central Dalmatia around the mid–sixteenth century as no census data exists prior to Zaccaria Vallaresso's report written in 1527.¹ All other sixteenth-century indications about the populace must also be viewed with caution.² What is still harder to describe in detail is in which activities the people actively engaged. There are general indications but, as of 2010, sixteenth-century Dalmatia and its inhabitants have more or less escaped scholarly research.³

The following two chapters seek to further our understanding of questions as to who were the elite groups and what they did. It does so in a two-fold approach. The former segment of part three dissects the activities of the political, ecclesiastical, and economic actors by virtue of presenting and analysing examples relative to the members of these groups. The latter chapter, then, goes on to survey Zadar's real estate property markets between 1540 and 1569 in order to establish the economic framework on the intermediary level between the macro and micro aspects of urban life in the sixteenth century.

¹ Zaccaria Vallaresso gave the number of 6,903 people in the city, 1,148 people dwelled in the suburban areas. Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 1, 194–223, especially pages 203–223.

² Marina Mocellin gives a good overview about the population development in Zadar after 1527, Ariè Malz presents a graphic on the basis of a variety of literature. Around the mid–16th century, the Jadertine populace numbered between 6,538 (1553) and 5,826 (1554) individuals. Mocellin, “Città fortificata,” 43–4, 60–1, as well as Malz, “Frühneuzeitliche Modernisierung,” 106.

The latter's sources include Šime Peričić, *Dalmacija uoči pada mletačke Republike* [Dalmatia on the eve of the Fall of the Venetian Republic] (Zagreb: Liber, 1980), 19–22, 57–60, and Šime Peričić, *Razvitak gospodarstva Zadra i okolice u prošlosti* [The economic development of Zadar and its surroundings in the Past] (Zagreb: Hrvatska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, Zavod za Povijesne Znanosti u Zadru, 1999), 20–4.

³ As detailed above, there is a significant research gap between Venice proper, Dubrovnik, and the rest of the communes along the oriental littoral of the Adriatic. See the prefaces by Drago Roksandić and Egidio Ivetić as well as the introduction in Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 7–12, 15–22.

5.1. Political Elites: Venetians, the Administration, and the Local Nobility

On top of the local Jadertine power structure were Count (comes/conte, rector/rettore⁴) and Captain (capitaneus/capitano). While both offices were reserved exclusively for Venetian patricians, the former held the supreme (civil) authority in the city and all its subject territories.⁵ The latter was the senior military commander, and while this official resided in the Captain's palace⁶, his authority extended also over the minor fortifications of Nin, Novigrad, Vrana, and Zemunik (Zemonico), comprising the entirety of Zadar's jurisdiction.⁷ In addition, non-commissioned officers were usually recruited among the regional – that is, Italian, Dalmatian, Croat, Greek individuals – elites, the lower ranks came from both sides of the Adriatic, both voluntarily and press-ganged.⁸ Apart from forty soldiers garrisoned in the two forts in Zadar itself⁹, there was a detachment of stradioti/stratiotti¹⁰ tasked with mobile reconnaissance missions. In case of hostile incursions by Morlachs, Ottoman subjects, and/or Uskoks (Uscocchi), this mounted unit, consisting of Croats and Levantines, was called upon.¹¹

⁴ The most recent information on Venice's civil-military administrators can be obtained in Monique O'Connell's study. O'Connell, *Men of Empire*, 2–3.

⁵ The separation of civil and military command by the Venetian Senate was common during the Middle Ages and Renaissance, for instance, while relying heavily on mercenary troops for their fighting, the Serenissima appointed a civilian Provveditore to oversee and, should the need arise, rein in the 'foreign' condottieri. And this policy was also extended to the controlling of Venice's overseas territories, although this statement comes with a twofold caveat: First, it needs to be stressed that a double-headed administration could only be found in the largest and most important possessions, e.g. Zadar, Crete, and Cyprus. Second, while it was easier to control the foreign condottieri, in the possessions both positions were usually filled with Venetian patricians. Arbel, "Colonie d'oltremare," 964, 966.

In Zadar, this separation of civil and military authority was also expressed in the separate locations of the respective offices (although these two are not far away from each other). The ducal palace (today called Kneževa i Providurova palača, Palace of the Duke and Provveditore), located in Poljana Šime Budinića (Simon Budineus Square, named after the priest and notary public, across crkva Sv. Šimuna/St Simeon's church), testifies to this.

⁶ The Captain's palace (Kapetanija or Kapetanova palača), formerly located in the Trg pet bunara (Five Wells Square), was strategically located next to the city's main gate, the so-called Kopnena vrata or Porta Terrafirma. While the Kapetanija no longer exists, the pentagonal Kapetanova kula (Captain's tower) in Five Wells Square still testifies to its former use. Today, the spot once occupied by the Captain's palace houses not only the University Library but also the Jadertine branch of the Croatian State Archive.

⁷ These were Nin (Nona), Novigrad (Novegradi), Zemunik (Zemonico), and Turanj (Torretta/Turretta). See the report by Paulus Justiniano, former captain of Zadar, presented in the Venetian Senate on 13 February, 1553. Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 3, 51.

⁸ Arbel, "Colonie d'oltremare," 967–8, and Lane, *Maritime Republic*, 355–70.

⁹ There were two castles in Zadar, one at the southern edge of the city, where the medieval citadel (cittadella, cittadella) was located; a second fort (arx, castrum, castro) was situated at the other side of the old town, conveniently located there to control the entrance to Zadar's harbour. Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 193–4.

The remnants of the former citadel are still visible today, however, in its place now stands the main building of the Sveučilište u Zadru (University of Zadar), Croatia's oldest university founded in 1396 and re-opened in 2003. The latter castle has been demolished and now hosts the docks for trans-Adriatic ferry services. The square – Trg Tri Bunara (Three Wells Square) – in front of the (new) Arsenal, located next to the harbour fort, still features three wells, testifying to the location's prior use.

¹⁰ For the Stradioti, see Arbel, "Colonie d'oltremare," 966–8, as well as Petta, *Stratioti*.

¹¹ In 1553, "Il valoroso Brutto Cluson", commander of the fortress of Zadar, commanded a cavalry unit of 74 soldiers, Croats and Levantines alike. Additional 47 mounted soldiers were under the joint command of the Jadertine nobles "meser Nicolò e meser Lombardin Tetrico." Smaller detachments were commanded by "Pellegrin di Marco", "il conte Vido Posedaria" (Posedarje), "Francesco Civallich gentilhuomo di Zara", and other individuals. Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 196.

These two officials, by virtue of their offices, enjoyed a rather large social posture, as opposed to their minimal representation in the sources of the present study. In some cases deemed important and/or grave enough, though, even the count and his military commander appear in the notarial records, as was the case in mid-January of 1555. The year before, “ser Jacobus della Zotta nauta“, a sailor residing in Zadar, bought a total of 536 star¹² grain from “domini Hieronymi Dilza, et domini Joannis Antonij Paiari“, both merchants and citizens of Ferrara.¹³ Jacobus then sailed his ship to Barletta, Apulia, and, circumventing Venice's staple rights, “sit committere contrabannum.“ Unfortunately for Jacobus, he was caught, his ship brought to Zadar and the count, assisted by his captain, first promptly sentenced him to pay a fine of 80 ducats¹⁴ and then sold off the grain via two intermediaries, “domini Lazari de Pontremulo“¹⁵, merchant and citizen of Zadar, and “Zoylo de Ferra“, a Jadertine nobleman. The grain had been stored in three magazines, all of them owned by the Jadertine merchant, because the ship's cargo bay was deemed too ill-suited to hold on to corn. As it happened, 353 star of grain were already in a rather bad condition, thus having been sold for only 5 libras 4 solidi per star, while the rest, 151 star, could be sold at 6 libras 10 solidi per star.¹⁶ The difference between the number of star sold and the cargo initially on board is explained by the loss of two star prior the sale, a commission of twenty-six star by Lazarus, and an additional four star charged for the rent of his magazines.

In mid-January of 1555, then, the procurator of the two merchants from Ferrara, ser Gaudentius de Chiavena, arrived in Zadar and received the sum of 2,843 libras 2 solidi “per celeberrimos dominum Franciscum Nani comitem (...), et dominum Hieronymum Delphyno capitaneum Jadrae.“ This amount of money, however, was not paid out in libras and solidi

¹² 1 star of grain amounted to circa 82.25 litres, thus the 536 star mentioned in the document equal roughly 44 metric tons of grain (based on the assumption that 1 litre roughly equals 1 kilogram).

¹³ They were not present, but represented by their joint procurator, “ser Gaudentius de Chiauena habitator Ferrariæ uti legitimus Procurator, Nuntius, et Negotiatorum gestor.“ The two constituents are referred to as “civium et mercatorum Ferrariensis.“ Cf. DC I, 1, 2, f16r–f17r, stipulated on 15 January, 1555.

¹⁴ The original source text reads as follows: “Quum sit, et rei veritas, sic Se habeat ser Jacobus della Zotta nauta habitator Jadrae, his (...) diebus, contra formam, et continentiam legum, ordinum, et partium Excellentissimi Consilii Decem, Superinde disponendum ausus fuerit, onerare eius navigium seu barcam in civitate Barleta, furto de ratione quorundam Mercatorum Ferrariensis, pro conducendo Illud Ferrariam, et sit committere contrabandum (...) pro quo condemnatus fuit ad ipsum Navigium amittendum; quae condemnatio postea per viam gratie in ducatis octuaginta redacta fuit.“ Cf. DC I, 1, 2, f16r–f17r, stipulated on 15 January, 1555.

¹⁵ Lazarus de Gnochis de Pontremulo, noted above, was among the wealthiest individuals residing in Zadar around the mid-16th century. Apart from the present study, see also the information given in Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 259–60, 265, 300.

¹⁶ Some of the corn was already “malefactum, et male conditionatum“ and had to be sold in “diversis precijs, respecta qualitate Ipsius furmenti, sic malefacti, et male conditionati.“ Cf. DC I, 1, 2, f16r–f17r, stipulated on 15 January, 1555.

only but in a variety of currencies. In order to illustrate the complexity of payments, the following list enumerates all payments by the commune of Zadar.

Table 6: Transactions on 15 January, 1555

amount (libras, solidi)	other currencies (incl. exchange rates)	paid out by whom
35 libras 17 solidi		superstitus jadrensis
620 libras		Franciscus Nani
112 libras 4 solidi		Lazarus de Pontremulo
310 libras		Franciscus Nani
1,075 libras 9 solidi	157 scudi (1 scudo = 6 libras 17 solidi)	Franciscus Nani
207 libras 18 solidi	27 ungari (1 ungarus = 7 libras 14 solidi)	Franciscus Nani
62 libras	moneta grossa, 0.5 scudi	Franciscus Nani
20 libras 4 solidi	moneta grossa, 0.5 scudi	Franciscus Nani
400 libras		Zoylus de Ferra
2,841 libras 52 solidi	~ 458 ducats (1 ducat = 6 libras 4 solidi)	

Source: DAZd, SZB, DC I, 1, 2, f16r–f17r, stipulated on 15 January, 1555.

All monetary denominations, names, etc., above are referenced in the source quoted, the conversions into ducat equivalents is mine.

Gaudentius, acting on behalf of the two absent merchants from Ferrara as required by financial transaction regulations, formally confirmed the disbursement, exonerating the count of his debt. Concluding the document, the ducal palace is noted as the location in which the transaction took place while “ser Antonius de Antibaro” (Bar/Antivari), a guard in Zadar’s main square, and “Mattheo Cuitcouich precone Jadre” (public herald), were present, thus ensuring the document’s legal validity.¹⁷

Apart from high-profile cases as the one cited above, both count and/or captain appear in a number of documents involving other, less dramatic legal proceedings, including references to receipts of payments in both money and/or kind known as quietatio (quitclaim), granting a special ducal licence to women in order for them to sell off property while the husband is absent, instrumentum pacis (arbitration settlements), or assumed procuratorial duties after leaving office. Subsequently, examples of these different types of interactions between the Jaderine count and his subjects are given.

¹⁷ The complete valediction reads as follows: “Actum Jadrae in praetorio, presentibus ser Antonio de Antibaro Stipendiato ad custodiam plathee, et Mattheo Cuitcouich precone Jadre, Testibus habitis vocatis, et spetialiter rogatis.” For all the information in the paragraphs above, cf. DC I, 1, 2, f16r–f17r, stipulated on 15 January, 1555.

In August of 1549, "Vellj de Anguri" confirmed the receipt of "petias triginta tres Zimbilorum" (thirty-three goat hides, the author) recuperatarum ex fundo maris¹⁸, collected from the wreckage of a sunken vessel off the town of Sali (Sale). Before, these pieces of pelt were considered the commune's property, as referenced in the fiscal chamber's books.¹⁹ The count, then, paid the outstanding amount of money – which he was required to by virtue of another contract stipulated at the end of July – to Vellj. The former, "magnifico domino Joanne Dominico Ciconia", was absent, but notary public Petrus de Bassano stipulated for the duke "uti persona publica." The transaction took place in large audience chambers of the ducal residence, witnessed by "domino Michele de Pelegrinis, ac domino Christophorus de Nassis."²⁰ On the following day, Vellj subsequently confirmed the receipt of these goat hides to, eleven of which "ipsi Vellj consignandas Venetijs per egregium dominum Laurentium a Puteo", a Jadertine citizen, then living as a merchant in Venice. All the other pieces Vellj confirmed to have received "a Spectabile domino Simone de Pasinis vice collaterale Jadre", acting on behalf of the commune by virtue of his office.²¹

Count or captain were also employed by various members of the upper social strata to assume procuratorial duties, mostly involving high-profile individuals or magistrates. As an example, in June of 1558, "Magnificus dominus Hieronimus Foscarinus quondam celeberrimi domini Michaelis" appointed Zadar's captain, "Magnificum et celeberrimum dominum Marcum Antonium Priolum dignissimum capitaneum Jadrae" to be his procurator. The task was to settle all outstanding financial activities of the constituent's brother "quondam Magnifici do-

¹⁸ Zadar's communal statutes did not include specific clauses as to the Jus litoris (wrecking), however, there were three clauses, although they were general on restitution issues and mentioned wrecking among these. See Lib. III, tit. I, cap. 4: "Qualiter teneatur ille qui accepit aliquod animal accomodatum si periculum ei acciderit vel casus fortuitus," Lib. III, tit. II, cap. 8: "Quod nullus teneatur ad restitutionem pecuniae acceptae in collegantiam vel in rogadium, si casu fortuito perditam contigerit affuisse," and Lib. III, tit. XIV, cap. 75: "In quibus casibus tenetur ad restitutionem animalis ad nulum accepti et in quibus non, si perierit vel fuerit deterioratum." Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 248, 252, 320.

The subsequent fourth book contains 83 chapters and is named "De Navigis et Navibus", but details only things as payment issues, that scribes are required on board, and various other clauses without addressing the Jus litoris. Ibid., 394–461.

Also, the 160 chapters in the Reformationes did not address this issues. Ibid., 520–677.

¹⁹ In this instrument, this is evidenced as follows: "que petie Triginta Tres Tetigerunt ipsi Magnifico domino Comitj Tempore Divisionis ipsorum Zimbilorum Naufragatorum (...) recuperatum ex fundo maris, ut Latius apparere dixerunt, de praemissis omnibus in Libris Camere phiscalis Jadre." Cf. PB I, 3, stipulated on 10 August, 1549.

²⁰ "Actum Jadre, in sala magna palatij ressidentie praefati Magnifici domini Comitjs (...)." Cf. PB I, 3, stipulated on 10 August, 1549.

²¹ Cf. PB I, 3, stipulated on 11 August, 1549.

mini Petri.“ The late brother of Hieronymus was also *sopracomes* (galley commander)²², thus these issues had to be resolved with the *capitaneus generalis maris* (captain general of the sea).²³ The contract was written in the house of Johannes Thomaseus, a Jadertine canon, located between the churches of St Michaelis (Sv Mihovil) and St Vitus (Sv Vid), in the presence of his brother Franciscus, a notary public, and “ser Francisco de Venetijs“, the successor of the late Peter as the “*patronus triremis*“ (captain), on 28 June, 1558.²⁴

In another example from the early 1560s, count Aloysius Cornelius (Alvise Corner) even more actively intervened in local affairs. He did so by granting “Magdalena de Sanctis uxoris Joannis Tubicine“ a ducal licence to sell off parts of their property while her husband was absent. She wanted to vend one of her houses to “magistro Antonio Bolcich cerdoni“ (master-cobbler/shoemender) in order to re-acquire another building from “ser Martino Lucatello“, a citizen and merchant of Zadar. On this day, two contracts were written down by the same notary public on the same folio. The former being the bill of sale involving Magdalena and Antonius Bolcich, explicitly stating that it was written “in vim suprascripte Auctoritate Pretorie“, the latter being a copy of said licence granted by the count.²⁵ This practice demonstrates that women required either their husbands to be present or at least their permission to sell their

²² A *sopracomes* was a galley commander with at least four years of service/experience, responsible also for the manning and recruitment of sailors, soldiers, etc. The latter amounted to a certain financial pressure for those as the expenditures were borne by the galley commanders. Lane, *Maritime Republic*, 365.

²³ The *Capitano generale da mar* or Captain general of the sea was the supreme naval commander of the Republic of St Mark.

In the context of the present study, it is necessary to point out that the office of the *Provveditore generale* in Dalmazia et Albania, established soon after the Venetian's re-asserted their control over the oriental littoral of the Adriatic. Its competences and duties gradually evolved over time, the latter office appeared first in the mid-1570s, and its office-holder began to permanently reside in Zadar from the early 17th century onwards. See Pederin, *Mletačka uprava*, 17, 105, and Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 150–6.

In more general terms, follow Cozzi, *Venezia e stati italiani*, 156, and Maštrović, *Razvoj sudstva*, 11–7.

²⁴ Hieronymus is referred to “*successionarius bonorum et in bonis quondam domini Petri fratris sui dum viveret dignissimi supracomitis Triremis hijs proximis lapsis diebus in hac civitate vita functi (...)*.“ For all the information contained in the above-referenced paragraph, cf. SB I, 1, 3, f137r, stipulated on 28 June, 1558.

²⁵ The contract involving the selling of the house was stipulated on 19 January, 1560, at the bottom of this folio the certified copy of the ducal licence, written on 5 January, 1560, has been added to complete the record. The former reads as follows: “*Sub die 5 instantis celeberrimus dominus comes dederit licentiam Magdalene de Sanctis uxoris Joannis Tubicine non obstante absentia eius Mariti prefati vendendum unam domunculam pro reddimendo una eius domo intromissa ad instantiam ser Martini Lucatelli mercatoris et habitatoris Jadre (...)*.“ Cf. SM I, 1, 7, f7r, stipulated on 5 and 19 January, 1560.

own property, despite the fact that the legal fore-bearer – Roman Law – did not know such restrictions.²⁶

Among the more common problems a count was faced while in office were disagreements over excise duties attempted to be levied from the labourers on granted and/or rented farmlands.²⁷ In the early 1560s, labourers on property near Tkon (Tucconio) on the island of Pašman (Pasmano) owned by the convent of SS Cosmas and Damian of Rogovo were upset about excess duties levied by the landlord. Consequently, Zadar's count, Benedictus Contarenius (Benedetto Contareno), was petitioned in order to provide redress of their grievances. The subsequent ducal sentence was then appealed by the monastery's²⁸ representative, the "Reverendum dominum Montemerlum de Montemerlo Comendatarium (commander²⁹, the author) Abbatie sanctorum Cosmae et Damiani", and the matter was finally resolved by ducal decree in mid-March of 1562. arbitration settlement between the abbey and the labourers established the new rent as a quarter of the harvest. The contract was written and validated on the doorsteps of Zadar's cathedral, dedicated to St Anastasia (Sv Štosija), by Franciscus Thomaseus, a notary public and Montemerlus's procurator for the abbey and Vitus Duymovich Iudex

²⁶ Roman Law and its practice in Venetian-controlled dominions curtailed most women's lives to being "daughters or wives of men who were their legal guardians," as writes Sally McKee. Also, the marital status of women defined the degrees of their personal (and economic) freedoms and capabilities. See McKee, "Women under Venetian Colonial Rule," 41, as well as Branka Grbavac, "Testamentary Bequests of Urban Noblewomen on the Eastern Adriatic Coast in the Fourteenth Century: The Case of Zadar," in *Across the Religious Divide: Women, Property, and Law in the wider Mediterranean, 1300–1800*, ed. Jutta G. Sperling and Shona Kelly Wray (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), 68–9 (67–80).

²⁷ Agriculture, farming, and livestock breeding was the backbone of the economy, left unchanged by the Venetians after their re-acquisition of Dalmatia in the early 14th century. Perićić, "Prilog poznavanju agrarnih odnosa," 138.

The legal basis for the agricultural production were concessionones (land grants) or locationes (rental contracts) to labourers and farmers. In case of the former, a certain predefined amount – usually a quarter of the harvest – was to be handed over to the landlord, in the latter case payment in cash was agreed upon. These contracts were legally binding documents stipulating also when the produce and/or money was to be handed over or paid out to the landlord. Usually, differences arose when the proprietor of the land raised his share of the produce, subsequently leading to conflicts between the land-owner and the labourers. Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 228–30.

Additional information and detailed data for the period under survey will be given in the subsequent chapter.

²⁸ The sources are clear that it was, in fact, an abbatia (abbey) and not a monasterium (monastery), however, for reasons of readability the two terms are used as synonyms.

²⁹ The term comandatarius or commendatore may be translated with the word commander, however, this is to be understood in the context of it being some kind of awards or honorific title in the tradition of being the provost of a commandry, the smallest subdivision of landed estate. The term has its origins in feudal Europe and could best be described as meaning benefice or sinecure.

(judge³⁰, the author) de villa Tchoni“ (Tkon/Tucconio), and two other inhabitants of the village, “Joannes Radincich de eadem villa et Lucas Hostich.“³¹

The next layer of political power was welded by the various other members of the Venetian administration. These individuals and, at times, their next of kin lived within the walled perimeter of the city, mostly concentrated within an imagined triangle between the captain's palace next to the Porta Terraferma, today called Kopnena vrata, the city's platea communis (main square) with the loggia, and the cathedral Sv Štosija (St Anastasiae). The main administrative tasks of these individuals were to oversee the harbour and issue export licences³², ensure the collection of the various taxes from the inhabitants living under Jadertine jurisdiction³³, and some individuals even engaged in various economic activities.³⁴

One of these Venetians appeared in a quitclaim issued upon the request of “strenui Xacman Gleglievaz et Petrus Naycinouich capitanei murlacorum provisionati ex gratia Illustrissimi ducis domini Veneti.“³⁵ Having finally being able to obtain the outstanding quantities of sold owed, the two soldiers confirmed the receipt and exonerated “Magnificum et generosum pa-

³⁰ As referred to above, but see Ref., cap. 137: “Forma privilegiorum ligarum comitatus Iadrae,” and Ref., cap. 153: “De aetate iudicum villarum.” Kolanović and Križman, Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 626–32, 664–6.

In addition, see also Pederin, *Mletačka uprava*, 21, Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 49, Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 164–83, and O'Connell, *Men of Empire*, 81–4.

³¹ The contract was stipulated “ad Ianuas paruas ante eodem maioris ecclesiae Iadrensis respicientes versus Sanctum Donatum.” For all the information above, cf. SB I, 1, 6, f351v/f352r, stipulated on 14 March, 1562.

³² Apart from the information given above, follow Kolanović, “Šibenik (contralittere),” Raukar, “Jadransko gospodarski sustavi,” and Schmitt, “Südosteuropa als Kommunikationsraum,” 82–90, and Attia, “Wirtschaft der Stadt Trogir.”

³³ Taxation numbers are quite hard to come by, however, in the reports by provincial governors there are indications about the tax loads of individual communities. In Zadar's case, not all reports by the governors and/or captains include financial and/or taxation data. We do know, for instance, that during Petrus Pisani's captainship in Zadar (in office from 1548 to 1550), expenses were 400 ducats higher than income. See his report, to be found in Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 183.

More details are given in 1553 by Johannes Baptista Giustiniano and Antonio Diedo, who wrote of the fiscal chamber disposing of roughly 7,000 to 8,000 ducats, but lamented the destruction of most olive trees during the war of 1538/41 (and the end of subsequent sales of olive oil worth about 25,000 ducats per year). Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 196–7, 199.

The Gabella was a tax on salt, levied on all salt production in Venice's empire due to the state's monopoly on salt. In the 1550s, the amount of income for the fiscal chamber of Zadar amounted to circa 2,000 ducats from the sale of circa 16,000 kvart = 1,000 modii (1 modium equalled circa 333 litres) of salt. In order to increase the revenues, a 50 % increase in salt sales was asked for by the returning captain. See the report by Paulus Giustiniano from 13 February, 1553, Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 3, 50.

³⁴ See part 4 for additional details.

³⁵ In one document, both “strenui Xacman Gleglieuaz, et Petrus Naycinouich” are explicitly referred to as “capitanei murlacorum provisionati ex gratia Illustrissimi Ducis Domini Venetiarum.” Cf. FT I, 2, f26r, stipulated on 27 May, 1552.

tritium venetum dominum Petrum Vallaresso quondam celeberrimi domini Zachariae³⁶ from any further action and/or debt repayment. All three³⁷ were “provisionati ex gratia Illustrissimi Ducis Domini venetiarum“, mercenaries serving the Republic, commanding the troops levied among the Morlachs. In at least two other previous³⁸ and one more later occasion, Petrus Vallaresso was tasked to get hold of their pay “ab officio Magnificorum dominorum cameriarorum comunis venetiarum.“³⁹ In the end, “domino Antonio de Venturino cive Jadre“, paid the three soldiers in the name of Petrus Vallaresso.⁴⁰ And while it is not clear, which role Petrus Vallaresso played or in which position he was involved in these payment issues, he was performing the very same procuratorial duties for a number of other mercenaries, too.⁴¹

For those other Venetian patricians and citizens working within the administration, positions like gastaldus principalis officium comitis (head of the ducal office)⁴², camerarius

³⁶ Virtually all major scientific works refer to his report from September 1527, mostly because of the immensely detailed information provided. Prior to his assignment as Zadar's captain, “Zacharia Vallaresso quondam Giovanni“ was already count of Rab (Arbe), when in September 1511 he was put on the ballot for the office of Provveditor Generale in Dalmazia but, in the end, received too few votes. He then served as “conte e provveditore“ in Hvar (Lesina) from 1518 to 1520. The following year, he was again on the ballot for Provveditore Generale and did not succeed in getting elected again. In the end, in September 1524, finally, Zacharias was invested with the captainship in Zadar, which he occupied from autumn 1524 to spring 1527.

For his report, the first detailed account of Zadar and the people living in its jurisdiction, presented on 10 September, 1527, see Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 1, 194–223; the information of this footnote is from pages 194–5.

³⁷ Paulus, “cognominato Pao“, was not the only soldier bearing the Naycinouich surname, as evidenced by another instrument, in which also a “comite Petro Naycinouich“ is referenced, a “consanguineus“ (family member of the same ancestor). Cf. PB I, 1, 9, f11r/f11v, stipulated on 24 April, 1543, as well as PB I, 2, 13, stipulated on 26 October, 1547 (for the family relations).

³⁸ On at least two other occasions, the same three soldiers had tasked Petrus Vallaresso with obtaining their sold. Cf. PB I, 1, 9, f11r/f11v, stipulated on 24 April, 1543, and PB I, 1, 9, f24v/f25r, stipulated on 24 July, 1543. For the later instance, cf. FT I, 2, f26r, stipulated on 27 May, 1552.

³⁹ Cf. FT I, 2, f26r, stipulated on 27 May, 1552.

⁴⁰ Antonius acted “via ac nomine Magnifici domini Petri Vallaresso quondam celeberrimi domini Zacharie“, paying out the entire outstanding sold “ab officio Celeberrimorum dominorum supracameris Illustrissimi Ducis domini venetiarum.“ Cf. PB I, 2, 13, stipulated on 26 October, 1547.

⁴¹ These include “dominus Petrus Clada, capitaneus stratiotarum deputatus ad custodie Tragurii“ (deputy captain of the stratioti in Trogir) and “strenui domini Hectoris Renessi capitanei stratiotarum Jadre“, who both tasked Petrus Vallaresso to obtain all outstanding payments for their services “a camere Zephalonie“ (from the fiscal chamber of Kefalonia). For the former, cf. FT I, 1, f36r/f36v, stipulated on 20 February, 1550, for the latter cf. FT I, 1, f25r, stipulated on 7 October, 1549.

⁴² This official – roughly the count's ‘chief of staff’ – in charge of parts of the ducal powers, was among those paid for out of the communal budget. For instance, in 1554, the office of principal gastald was occupied by “ser Alessandro de Zuane da Venetia“ who conceded the office to “ser Morando Costa bressano“ (of Brescia). The latter's service was to begin on 1 October, 1554, and Morando paid 27 ducats for the office. The Jadertine fiscal chamber, in turn, paid 25 libras every three months, i.e. 100 libras per annum, to the office-holder, plus some allowances for board (23 libras 14 solidi) and lodging (19 libras 8 solidi). For all this information, cf. DC I, 1, 1, f45r/f45v, stipulated on 27 August, 1554.

(chamberlain, treasurer)⁴³, scontrus (communal broker)⁴⁴, or gabellotus (salt tax collector)⁴⁵ were available. As the sources indicate, not too many Venetians sought the public notaries' services, as their appearances throughout the instruments surveyed is rather small. Only slightly more than one hundred of all contracts analysed offer hints or remarks at Venetian citizens and patricians.⁴⁶

Working under the Venetian administration were also a number of individuals engaged in various offices in Zadar, such as cancellarius (chancellor), praecor (herald), or scriba (scribes).⁴⁷ These positions were open to qualified – literate – people from the Venetian possessions. Around the mid–sixteenth century, these positions were occupied by Venetian patricians, nobles, and non–nobles from various other Dalmatian possessions. As the sources indicate, the variety of offices requiring literate individuals to enter the administration was not large.⁴⁸ For instance, Zadar employed only two communal chancellors, one responsible for

⁴³ The overseer of Zadar's fiscal chamber was an important figure within the Venetian administration. He not only oversaw all the various taxation returns but was also responsible for the treasury. This often proved to be a rather ungrateful position – as indicated by virtually all reports filed by Venetian sindici (legates), counts, and/or captains in their reports who all mention that every year the chamber paid out more money than it earned, in some cases amassing even such deficits that other communities along the Dalmatian coast had to transfer some of their earnings to Zadar. See both Arbel, "Colonie d'oltremare," 978–9, as well as Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 197.

In 1558, the Jadertine chamberlain was "magnificus dominus Hieronymus Zane", presumably a Venetian patrician, appearing in the protocols of notary public Laurentius Canali. The former appointed "magnificum dominum Antonium Michael quondam celeberrimi domini Francisci Patricium venetum", then Zadar's count, to collect outstanding payments from the Venetian treasury "causa, et occasione augamenti salarij sui." Cf. NC I, 1, f7v, stipulated in the captain's palace on 2 April, 1558.

⁴⁴ A scontrus/scontro was an official who was tasked with clearing activities on behalf of the commune, i.e. all pre-/post-trading, pre-/post-settlement of outstanding financial transaction, etc. as well as overseeing that all transactions were settled according to the legal framework.

⁴⁵ The office collected all the salt produced in a given region – in Zadar's case, from the salines to the south-east of the city and from the Jadertine salines located near Pag and then sold it off with a profit. For the Jadertine salt production, see Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 85–8, for salt production in Dalmatia in general, see Hocquet, *Le Sel*, vol. 1, 83–8.

In 1550, there is evidence that "ser Gaspar Gasparovich gabellotus Jadra", tasked Petrus Vallaresso to obtain outstanding payments "ab officio celeberrimorum dominorum provisorum super fortilitijs" (from the office of the overseers of the fortifications) "ex causa contiguationis facta per praefatum ser Gasparem fabrice pontoni civitatis Jadrae." Cf. FT I, 1, f36r/f36v, stipulated on 20 February, 1550.

In addition, the presence of a gabellotus begs a couple of additional questions: First, that Zadar still collected the salt tax (which would make sense given the commune's salt pans close by and on Pag). Second, there is the possibility that the eponymous Jadertine official was responsible for not only overseeing the communal production, storage, and sale of salt but also for the collection of indirect taxes. Third, the most interesting aspect, though, is that Ariè Malz writes that Šibenik was granted the gabella de sal in 1525, leading to the question as to whether or not salt was still produced in/or under the jurisdiction of Zadar and, a fact not noted by him, where the salt pans in/or close to Šibenik were. Malz, "Frühneuzeitliche Modernisierung," 111, 127.

⁴⁶ The total number of individual contracts involving Venetian patricians appearing in the more than 6,000 notarial instruments is only 120, many of these individuals are mentioned more than once, too.

⁴⁷ Pederin, "Ämter der venezianischen Verwaltung," 303–54.

⁴⁸ For more detailed information, follow Pederin, "Ämter der venezianischen Verwaltung," 303–54.

communal affairs (*cancellarius communitatis*)⁴⁹, the other for the up-keeping of the legal system and its processes (*cancellarius ad criminalium jadtensis*).⁵⁰

These offices were, in many cases, held by nobles originally from other parts of the Venetian empire. To be more precise, the individuals appearing in the sources were mostly from other Dalmatian communities within the general framework of the *Stato da mar* or beyond its borders. The latter, though, were usually Croatian nobles engaged in the defence of the hinterlands.

Before addressing the ecclesiastical and economic elites, one more aspect concerning the Jadertine nobility needs to be discussed: The over-all size of the nobility and its relation to the numbers of the general populace. As Johannes Baptista Justiniano and Antonius Diedo wrote in their report, around the mid-sixteenth century seventeen aristocratic households existed in Zadar.⁵¹ The Jadertine consilium or curia/consiglio (council) comprised all male adult members of Zadar's nobility⁵², in all around seventy individuals.⁵³ As the two legates noted, these were divided into a total of seventeen family clans.⁵⁴ Tomislav Raukar, on the other hand, stated that there have been at least twenty different families in the first half of the sixteenth century, its members amounted to roughly 600 individuals.⁵⁵ Given the population data available, Zadar's over-all population was circa 6,000 to 6,500 persons around the mid-turn

⁴⁹ The Jadertine communal chancellors are featured more prominently in the sources, for instance Johannes Michael Mazzarellus and his son, Simon, both were nobles of Trogir (Traù), *leges utriusque doctor* (doctor of both laws), and occupied the office of *cancellarius communitatis* in Zadar; Johannes until his death in 1555, his son later on. Cf., for instance, SB I, 1, 1, f28v/f29r, stipulated on 30 January, 1557, but see also part four.

⁵⁰ For instance, in 1547, the position of *cancellarius ad criminalium* was occupied by "domino Georgio Diphnico cancellario criminalis", a knighted noble (*eques*) originally from Šibenik, executing a court ruling pertaining to damages done to "dona Catherina uxor quondam Thome Percinouich de Gliuba" (Ljubač/Gliube). Cf. PB I, 2, 12, stipulated on 7 April, 1547, for the reference to the provenance of Georgius Diphnico, cf. ND I, 1, C, stipulated on 17 March, 1541.

⁵¹ The number 17 is mentioned in the Venetian report, see Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 197. The authors of the third volume of *Prošlost Zadra* mention twenty noble families, however, as will be shown, the boundaries between these families are not always as clear-cut, thus there is some room for debate left. Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 261–2.

⁵² The legitimate age, as stipulated in the Jadertine statutes, was to be at least of completed twenty years, misconduct was banned and a fee of 25 libras for transgressions was imposed. See Ref., cap. 13: "Quod consilarii sint viginti annorum ad minus." Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 528.

⁵³ Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 197.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 197.

⁵⁵ The number given by Tomislav Raukar et al. is 564 individuals in 1527, though the authors admit that their data is incomplete and that a lot is still unknown due to lack of precise census data. Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 261–2.

of the sixteenth century, it can be concluded that the local nobility amounted to slightly less than a tenth of the general populace.⁵⁶

5.2. Ecclesiastical Elites: Clergy, Convents, and the Church

In the context of the present thesis, the term ‘ecclesiastical elite(s)’ needs to be defined more precisely before venturing onwards and describe the involved activities. Thus, in a first step, I attempt to dissect this seemingly monolithic entity. The subsequent second part shows in which actions the clergy participated around the mid–sixteenth century. Before this can be done, though, it is necessary to define in more detail the members of the this particular group.

Until now, the *ecclesiastical elite* has been defined as the higher clergy – that is, the archbishops (of Split, Zadar, and Dubrovnik), the bishops (of Krk, Osor, Rab, Nin, Trogir, Hvar, Korčula, Ston, and Kotor), and the members of these respective chapters on the one hand, and the heads of the monasteries on the other. While Neven Budak adds a caveat as regards the influence wielded by the abbots and priors of the large, wealthy, and influential convents, he also mentioned the fact that these members of the over–all society have “only exceptionally been a matter of interest to scholars of the Dalmatian Middle Ages.”⁵⁷ In order to more comprehensively document the activities of the members of the clergy, the present study understands both the individual members as well as ecclesiastical institutions as belonging to the socio–functional group clergy.

In Jadertine terms, consequently, this means that the following entities and/or individuals representing these offices and/or convents as well as the parish churches belong to this particular category. On top of the ecclesiastical hierarchy stood the Jadertine archbishopric and its chapter. While the sees in and of themselves was reserved for Venetian patricians only⁵⁸,

⁵⁶ As for population numbers, there exists no population data prior to 1527, the year in which Zacharias Valaresso, formerly captain of Zadar, presented his report in the Venetian Senate on 10 September, 1527. The document filed included detailed names, toponyms, and population numbers for the entire Jadertine jurisdiction, rendering it an immensely important report. In it, Zacharias Valaresso counted 6,903 anime (souls) in the city proper, in addition there were 1,148 souls in its suburban dwellings (burgus/borgo). Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 1, 196.

In addition, the report by Marc‘Antonio de Mula, former count of Zadar from 1540 to 1542, gauged the urban and suburban population at around 6,300 souls. Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 172.

Johannes Baptista Justiniano and Antonius Diedo, in 1553, counted 6,536 souls in Zadar, however, it remains unclear whether this number included the suburban dwellers or not. Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 198.

⁵⁷ Budak, “Urban élites,” 188.

⁵⁸ Arbel, “Colonie d’oltremare,” 975, and Pederin, “Verwaltung Dalmatiens,” 143.

the latter usually comprised local Dalmatian notables.⁵⁹ According to Neven Budak, the second layer of ecclesiastical power within Jadertine jurisdiction was the bishopric of Nin⁶⁰, whose office-holder lived in Zadar by the mid-sixteenth century.⁶¹ Below this secondary level were the convents and monasteries and their respective abbots, priors, and chapters. In all, the Order of St Benedict, the Franciscans (and their offshoot congregations), and the Dominicans were present in Dalmatia's central city, operating out of a total of nine convents.⁶² Below this stratum came the parish churches, the hospitals of St Jacob and St Mark, both located within the fortified city centre, and the various parish churches elsewhere under Zadar's over-all jurisdiction. Subsequently, examples of the categories mentioned are provided.

First, the archbishopric of Zadar, the bishopric of Nin, and its adjunct institutions in general did not appear in many of the instruments. Exceptions, however, did occur, usually when new office-holders were appointed or other issues of elevated importance were prompting high-level intervention. One of these cases dates from the mid-1550s when the then-current office-holder, "Joanne Thomaseo canonico et vicario Jadrensis uti procuratori et eo nomine ut dixit Reverendi domini Cornelij Pisauro dignissimi archiepiscopi Jadrensis", swapped a quarter of a house built of stone in Zadar's St Catherine's parish with the heirs of "quondam ser Francisci de Magistris de Pisauro, (...) done Dionore et Priuigna", for half a house con-

⁵⁹ For instance, when renting out some of its property, at times the members of the archbishop's chapter are named in the respective instrument, as happened in spring of 1558. Gathered in the chapel of St Barbara – "que est sacristia Ecclesie metropolitana Sancta Anastasia" –, the members of the chapter are listed: "(...) infrascriptis Reverendis dominis de Capitulo Jadrensi, videlicet, Reverendo domino Francisco Chrysogonis Archipresbytero, Reverendo domino Petro Britanico Primicerio, Reverendo domino Joanne Donato Begnio canonico et Vicario, domino Joanne Sichirich, domino Matheo de Marchettis, domino Joanne Thomaseo, domino Antonio Mirchouich, domino Sancto de Sanctis, ac domino Vincentio de Ventura canonicis dicta Ecclesia Jadrensis." Jointly, the gathered chapter rented out "Unam dicti Reverendi capituli domum de muro (...) a ser Martino Lucathello Civi et mercatori Jadrensis." Starting "a die huius contractus" and for the annual payment of 12 ducats, Martino rented the house for six years.

As the list of the members of the chapter indicates, both archpriest and vicar were of noble descent, the other individuals were firmly rooted within the upper layers of Zadar's social fabric. For instance, Johannes Thomaseus was the brother of notary public Franciscus Thomaseus, also Matthaeus de Marchettis was related to a notary, as was Sancto de Sanctis. Cf. SB I, 1, 3, f112v, stipulated on 18 April, 1558.

⁶⁰ Nin was not only an early centre of Croatian statehood but also an important ecclesiastical focal point. For an introduction to ecclesiastical history with a special emphasis on the central Dalmatian region, see Carlo F. Bianchi, *Zara Cristiana*, vol. 1 (Zadar: Tipografia Woditzka, 1877), 191–7.

In addition, for the towns of Karin, Nadin, and Biograd na moru, follow Novak, *Prošlost Dalmacije*, vol. 1, 93–4.

⁶¹ At least two instruments clearly state that they were "Actum Jadre domi habitationis dicti Reverendi constituentis" and "Fatto in Zara nella sala dell'habitation del prefato Reverendo Monsignor Locatore." In the former case, Marcus Lauredanus appointed a representative to act on his behalf in Korčula, on the latter occasion he, as the Jadertine archbishop's representative, rents out all income within Zadar's jurisdiction as well as the tithes of Pag for the annual payment of 1,000 ducats. Cf. SB I, 1, 4, f233r/f233v, stipulated on 4 March, 1560, and SB I, 1, 6, f378v–f381r, stipulated on 29 September, 1562.

⁶² See the information provided in table 3 above.

structed of both stones and wood in St Vitus' parish.⁶³ Other activities of the archbishopric included the lease of possessions within the Jadertine jurisdiction (although sometimes conditioned on the explicit consent of the Pope)⁶⁴ or pledges of allegiance of lower-ranking ecclesiastical officials.⁶⁵

In some cases, the newly appointed archbishop was even tasked with the acquisition of outstanding payments, as happened in 1556. Two Jadertine citizen, "dominus presbyter Sanctus de Sanctis Canonicus Jadre, et dominus Joannes Raymundinus Civis Jadre", appointed "Reverendum in Christo Patrem et dominum dominum Mutium Calino", Zadar's absent archbishop-elect, to retrieve all money owed to the constituents "a Sancta Sede apostolica a Reverendo auditore camere apostolice" in Rome. At the stipulation of the instrument, the incoming church official was not present in Zadar, probably still in Rome or in its vicinity – and the two constituent parties sought to take advantage of their procurator's status and presumed close (geographical) presence to the Vatican.⁶⁶ Another example involved the designated bishop of Nin. Upon appointment, the new ecclesiastical dignitary travelled to his see, often with little knowledge of the new diocese while leaving behind former sinecures. This happened to "Reverendus in Christo patrem et dominum dominus Marcus Lauredanus (Loredan, the author) Dei et Apostolica sedis gratia episcopus Nonensis et Abbatis Sancti Michaelis de Monte Civitatis Pola." After his designation as bishop of Nin, he was required to relocate himself to central Dalmatia. One of Marcus's first actions was to appoint "Reverendum dominum Dominicum Armanum Primicerium Nonensis" and to find out what belonged to the

⁶³ Dionora and Priuigna themselves were not present but represented by one of their tutors, "Magister Petrus Iuanusceuch cerdo habitator Jadre", a master-cobbler. Cf. DC I, 1, 1, f40v/f41r, stipulated on 28 March, 1554.

⁶⁴ In March of 1555, the same Cornelio Pisauro leased a patch of land close to Kali (Cal, Calle, Mul) belonging to the archbishopric "a spettabili domino Doymo, et domino Petro fratribus de Cedulinis nobilibus Jadre", for 29 years (i.e. an "emphytheotica concessio") in exchange for the annual payment of 4 ducats. However, the contract also included the clause that Pope Julius III (whose papacy lasted from 7 February, 1550, to 23 March, 1555) had to approve of this transaction: "(...) cum hac expressa conditione, et declaratione per Ipsas partes in presenti Instrumento apposito (...) nec dicti fratres, neque eorum heredes et Successores possint ullo modo cogi, neque compelli ad Solutionem in toto, ut in parte dicti livelli seu pensionis donec et quousque huiusmodi datio et livellaria ac emphytheotica concessio non fuerit confirmata per sanctissimam in Christo patrem et dominum Nostrum dominum Julium divina providentia Papam tertium, seu per eius sancti sedem apostolicam, qua Sic inter partes Ipsas per pactum expressum conventum et statutum fuit." Cf. DC I, 1, 2, f26r/f26v, stipulated on 5 March, 1555.

⁶⁵ A bit earlier, in September of 1553, "Reverendus dominus Johannes Donatus Begna", a Jadertine noble and newly-appointed vicar, officially accepted his (unpaid) vicariate and ratified the instrument by which he was appointed. This investment instrument was stipulated on 25 April, 1552, as the notarial act also informs us. Cf. FT I, 2, f32v, stipulated on 19 September, 1553.

⁶⁶ Cf. JM I, 4, f128v, stipulated on 3 November, 1556.

convent.⁶⁷ Other than the two examples cited above, there is little evidence these dignitaries engaged in other mundane activities – with one notable exception: Sees commanded significant amounts of landed property – in other words: income. In order to tap these resources, procurators had to be appointed to act on behalf of the office, hence the connection to the analysis in part two. Zadar's archbishopric, for instance, possessed not only property within Jadertine jurisdiction but also some on the neighbouring island of Pag which, as the former, was auctioned off to the highest-bidder for tax farming purposes.⁶⁸

Second, Jadertine nobles, convents, and the Church. Three of the convents located in Zadar's old town were reserved for nuns of aristocratic descent only. Each of these three nunneries was affiliated with one of the three large monastical orders, the Benedictines ran St Mary's convent, the Poor Clare Sisters the monastery of St Nicholas, and the Dominicans the abbey of St Demetrius.⁶⁹ Within the walls of these compounds, a comparatively large number of women relative to the over-all number of noble ancestry lived.

⁶⁷ The instrument clearly states that Dominicus task was to “spetialiter et expresse ad nomine dicti Reverendi domini episcopi et Comendatarij cathastica quecumque seu inventaria omnium, et quorumcumque bonorum Terrenarum, fructuum adationum livellorum et proventuum dicta Abbatia spectandum et pertinendum (...)” Cf. SB I, 1, 6, f411r, stipulated on 19 March, 1563, and SB I, 1, 6, f488r/f488v, stipulated on 12 February, 1565.

⁶⁸ As far as the sources go, the archbishop rented out “omnes, et quoscumque fructus, redditus, et proventus, affectus Jurisdictionis (...) Tam Terre firmæ tamquam Insularum, diocesis Jadrensis, et decimam Insule Pagi” for the annual payment of 620 ducats, as evidenced in a rental contract from the mid-1540s. In this contract, the archbishop himself rented his office's income to Johannes Mazzarellus, a noble of Trogir, Jadertine notary public, and communal chancellor, and Johannes Thomaseus, a Jadertine citizen, canon, priest, and member of Zadar's chapter. A couple of weeks later the two accepted “dominum presbytrum Joannem Barbiricich” as the third party to their conductio, slightly augmenting the latter's price from 620 ducats to 635 per annum. Cf. PS I, 1, f11r/f11v, stipulated on 10 May, 1545, and PS I, 1, f2r/f2v, stipulated on 14 July, 1545.

⁶⁹ See the information provided in table 3 above.

Table 7: Zadar's female Cloistral Population of Noble Descent (1559)

family, clan ^a	St Mary OSB ^b	St Nicholas OSC ^c	St Demetrius OP ^d
Begna (Benja)		sor Gelenta	sor Catherina sor Johanna sor Angela sor Laura
Charnaruta (Carnaruto)	sor Francischina sor Dionora	sor Benedicta	sor Lucietta
Cedulina (Zadulini)	sor Lucia sor Benedicta		
Civallella (Civalelli)	sor Cicilia	sor Isabetta sor Magdalena	sor Francischina
Fanfonea (Fanfogna)	sor Deodata		
Ferra	sor Vincentia		
Fumata (Fumatis)	sor Perina		
Gallella (Galelis)	sor Antonella, abbatissa sor Marchetta sor Jacomella		sor Nicolotta
Grisogona (Grisogono)	sor Hieronyma sor Vigilanta sor Catherina sor Concordia sor Lucretia	sor Maria, abbatissa sor Nicolota sor Catherina sor Perina sor Ursia sor Magdalena	sor Coliza, priora sor Simonella sor Catherina sor Victoria
Nassis (Našić)	sor Cherubina	sor Magdalena sor Catherina sor Prospera	sor Magdalena sor Cornelia
Pechiaro (Pekarić)	sor Flavia		
Rosa (Rosa)	sor Arcanglea sor Paulina sor Justina	sor Isabetta sor Lucia	sor Perina
Soppe (Soppe)	sor Paula sor Pacifica		sor Isabetta
Tetrica (Detrik)	sor Magdalena		
Diphnica (Divnić)		sor Philippa	
Mogorichia (Mogorić)			sor Helena

Source: SB I, 1, 6, f390r/f390v, stipulated on 26 October, 1559 (three individual instruments).

Table 7 gives both names and cloistral affiliation of the members of the chapters of the three Jadertine nobles-only nunneries according to the three procuratorial contracts. The reason behind the three convents sending out a joint procuratorial mission in the person of “dominum Joannem Chrysogoni quondam domini Andreae”, a nobleman of Zadar was to achieve a continued exemption of paying out tithes to the Venetian state: “specialiter et expresse ad earum nominem comparendum tam ad pedes Illustrissimi et Excelentissimi Domini Venetiarum, quam coram alio quocumque Jusdicente, in inclita Venetiarum civitate quacumque auctoritate fungente, et praetor tam ecclesiastico quam Seculare causa et occasione petendi exemptionem et liberationem a solutione decimarum et decimarum novissimam impositarum a quarum decimarum solutione, ex antiqua consuetudine et clementia prelibati Illustrissimi Domini luisque Semper ut asserverunt exempta fuerunt, nec quicquam ullo umquam tempore dicta de causa persolverunt.”

(a) Lists the family surnames of the then-present fourteen noble families of which members were in the three nunneries. The last two names, Diphnica and Mogorichia, indicate that these convents were not exclusively reserved for Jadertine nobles as the former denotes a noble family of Šibenik, the latter case is a bit more tricky. In a rental contract from the mid-1560s, a number of individuals bearing the Mogorich surname referred to as comes (count) “habitatores in partibus Croatiae in loco vocato Bosiglieuo” (Bosiljevo, in present-day Karlovac county) appears. This indicates that the Mogorich may have been of noble descent but from the Croatian hinterlands. Cf. DC I, 2, 6, stipulated on 29 May, 1565.

- (b) As this appears to have applied to all four Jadertine nunneries, the three aristocratic monasteries were joined by the non-noble “moniales Sanctae Catherinae” (OP). A joint procurator, above-referenced Johannes Grisogonus, was appointed and sent to Venice. One more word about St Catherine’s monastery: A total of thirteen nuns is listed, these were: sor Francischina de Marco, sor Ursia de Marco, sor Scholastica Venturina, sor Magdalena Armana, sor Perina de Pace, sor Bernardina Pasina, sor Ventura de Veturina, sor Francischina de Marco, sor Gabriella Zappich, sor Rafaela Gislardo, sor Donata Britanica, and – albeit absent – sor Paulina de Jordanis, and sor Archangela Ventura. As the source states, their abbess was absent on this occasion, thus making one of the last two individuals the abbess of this Benedictine convent for commoners. This column lists all nuns in the Benedictine St Mary’s convent in 1559. Judging from the names above, it was the religious order of (first) choice for the majority of Zadar’s noble families. The Grisogonus family, though, seemed to be either very pious or not willing to take any chances as their comparatively very large numbers in all three convents suggest (or both).
- (c) In all, the total number of all nuns of noble descent was 56, of which 42.8 % (24 individuals) were in the Benedictine nobles-only convent of St Mary’s, 28.6 % (16 individuals) in the Franciscan monastery of St Nicholas (OSC), and the remaining 28.6 % (16 individuals) were in the Dominican monastery of St Demetrius. One more side note – the Grisogonus family’s 15 individuals in the three aristocratic nunneries make up more than a quarter of the entire Jadertine female cloistral population that we know of (26.8 % or 15 individuals). In this column, all nuns in the second Franciscan order of St Clare (Poor Clare Sisters) are listed. This order appeared to have been favoured over the other convents by the Nassiss (Našić) and Civallellus (Civalelo) families.
- (d) This column lists fourteen out of the twenty noble families of Zadar of whom nuns were in one or more of these three nobles’ convents on 26 October, 1559. The family names given in this column were transcribed from the original procuratorial instrument, the brackets contain the Croatian transliterations of these names. The six families missing from this listing were Grisogonus alias de Bartholatiis (Bartolačić, although the possibility of one of the Grisogoni above were, in fact, from the Bartolačić branch), Calcina (Calcina), Ciprianus (Ciprianis), Crissana (Kršava), Gliubavatus (Ljubavac), Mathapharis (Matafari). The two family names at the bottom are Diphnicus/Difnich (Divnić), a noble family of Šibenik, and Mogorich (Mogorić), a noble family from Croatia. For former, cf. ND I, 1, C, stipulated on 17 March, 1541, for the latter, cf. HM I, 2, f38r–f39r, stipulated on 20 August, 1568. The Dominican monastery of St Demetrius was the clear order of choice by the Begna (Benja) family, whose numbers amounted to a third of all listed nuns.

As the table 7 above displays, the various Jadertine noble families exhibited tendencies as to which orders they preferred, a statement supported by the data provided for in the testaments of Zadar’s nobles. Analysis of the testaments and codicils of the seventy-eight testators of aristocratic descent reveals that following details about the preferences as regards the nobles’ affiliation with a particular ecclesiastical order.

Table 7.1: Zadar's Nobility and their Preferred Orders (1540 to 1559)

OSB ^a	OSF ^b	OP ^c	other, n/a ^d
22 individuals	24 individuals	15 individuals	17 individuals
4 in St Grisogoni ¹	23 in St Francisci ⁴	13 in St Dominici ⁶	5 in other churches ⁸
17 in St Mariae mon. ²	1 in St Nicolai ⁵	2 in St Demetrii ⁷	12 n/a ⁹
1 in St Andreae de Arbe ³			

Sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JMM (1540–1554), MAS (1544–1548), ND (1540–1566), PB (1540–1569), PS (1545–1551), SM (1555–1567). In all, 111 documents were analysed, constituting the entirety of the nobility's testaments preserved by the notaries comprising a total of 78 individual testaments and 33 codicils.

Table 7.1 gives an approximate overview of the preferred burial places of Zadar's nobility of both indigenous provenance and relation by marriage (i.e. someone originally not from Zadar but married to a Jadertine noble). The first item in each line gives the number of individuals providing a clause as regards their burial place. The data given must be viewed with caution as the 17 individuals without such clauses amounts to about a fifth and in 12 out of these 17 instances the decision as regards the burial places was left at the discretion of either the husband (thrice) or the executor (once). As a consequence, the most preferential order of the nobility could have very well been the Benedictines (but not the Dominican Order bearing considerable resemblance to the over-all situation in Venice proper). All names of the churches are given in Latin as they were found in the sources.

(a) OSB denotes all burial places within churches affiliated with the Order of St Benedict;

(1) denotes the four individuals preferring to be buried in the church of St Chrysogonus, the male congregation of the OSB; all of these four individuals were men;

(2) denotes the 17 individuals preferring to be buried in the church of St Mary, the building adjacent to the Benedictine nobles-only nunnery; six of these seventeen were men, the rest were women;

(3) denotes the one individual desiring to be buried in the church of St Andreas of Rab (Arbe), "domina Catherina filia spectabilis domini Nicolai de Dominis Soldarich nobilis Arbi (...) uxor spectabilis domini Hieronymi de Soppe nobilis Jadrensis", which might help to explain why the testatrix preferred to be buried at home; cf. GC I, 2, no. 17, stipulated on 17 June, 1564.

(b) OSF denotes all burial places within churches affiliated with the Order of St Francis;

(4) denotes the 23 individuals preferring to be buried in the church of St Francis, the male congregation of the Friars Minor; only about a quarter of these individuals were men (6 out of 23), the rest were women;

(5) denotes the only person preferring to be buried in the church of St Nicholas, the building adjacent to the Franciscan nobles-only congregation of the Poor Clare Sisters; this was the last will of "domina Maria filia domini Petri Ciuallelli, et uxor quondam domini Simonis de Mathapharis quondam domini Joannis nobilis Jadrensis"; cf. JMM III, 6, no. 68, stipulated on 12 March, 1538.

(c) denotes all burial places within the churches affiliated with the Order of Preachers;

(6) denotes the 13 individuals preferring to be buried in the church of St Dominic, the male congregation of the OP; roughly two thirds of these individuals (8 out of 13) were men, the rest were women;

(7) denotes the the two women preferring to be buried in the church of St Demetrius, the building adjacent to the Dominicans' nobles-only nunnery.

(d) denotes all other and unspecified burial places;

(8) denotes the 5 individuals preferring churches not affiliated with the three above-mentioned orders, among them were "Reverendus dominus Franciscus Grisogonus quondam spectabilis domini Antonii", Zadar's archpriest and a member of its archbishopric's chapter, preferring to be buried in St Anastasia, the Jadertine cathedral; cf. ND IV, 8, no. 36, stipulated on 27 November, 1563; in the four other cases, all testators were female and preferred locations as diverse as the church of St Hieronymus on Ugljan ("Helisabeth filia quondam Aloysij de Begna", cf. JMM IV, 7, no. 553, stipulated on 12 March, 1553), the church of St John in Zadar's suburbs ("domina Clara filia quondam domini Georgij Xuulich nobilis Sibenicensis, et uxor quondam domini Cose de Begna nobilis Jadre", cf. PS I, 2, no. 2, stipulated on 20 August, 1545), and two noblewomen preferring St Simeon's church, namely "domina Francischina uxor quondam domini Damiani de Begna" and "nobilis domina Gelenta filia quondam domini Simonis Ciprianj Jadre", cf. ND IV, 8, no. 40, stipulated on 1 March, 1564, for the former, and JMM III, 6, no. 189, stipulated on 4 November, 1539, for the latter;

(9) denotes all unspecified burial places as given by the 12 testators, however, it must be stressed that a third of these individuals (4 out of the 12) left the burial place to the husband – "Sepelirj voluit ac ordinavit (...) eius maritus", cf. JMM III, 6, no. 175, stipulated on 21 June, 1539 – or the testatrix's brother: "Corpus suum reposit In ecclesia ubi voluit, et mandavit (...) dicti Testatricis frater"; cf. PS I, 2, no. 10, stipulated on 3 September, 1549.

In addition to the relative popularity of the three major orders then-present in Zadar, the testaments of the nobility also reveal which families tended to prefer which congregation. Leaving aside the one testatrix of noble descent from Pag⁷⁰, there is ample other evidence to be discussed. Table 7 shows, for instance, that the Grisogonus–de Bartholatijs⁷¹ clan had many relatives in each of the three congregations. A closer look at the testaments reveals that six out of twenty-two individuals preferring to be buried in a church affiliated with the Benedictines, were, in fact, members of the Grisogonus–de Bartholatijs family (by blood relation and not having married into the family). The accumulation of individuals belonging to the same family desiring to be buried in Benedictine churches and the almost complete absence of other members of the Grisogonus–de Bartholatijs clan who willed to be buried elsewhere suggests a clear preference for the Order of St Benedict.

As table 7.2 further indicates, the churches of both the Benedictine and Franciscan Orders were the preferred burial places of Zadar's nobility. Both orders and their respective female and male congregations attracted slightly less than two thirds of Zadar's nobility as regards their grave-sites. Some orders were clearly preferred by one family, for instance, other than the Grisogonus–de Bartholatijs preference for the Benedictines, the Dominicans were the order of choice of the Nassis family, while the Fanfoneus, Ferra, and Pechiaro families preferred the Franciscans. And while this cursory overview of the situation around the mid-sixteenth century constitutes only a first glimpse into the interwoven relations between the clergy and the nobility, the “almost unexplored field of the patricians' activities”⁷² and the corresponding absence of studies thereto renders the above-referenced tables and commentary a good starting point.⁷³

⁷⁰ As mentioned above, the most curious fact about Catherina may very well be that she belonged to a noble family from Pag married to a Jadertine noble but stipulated to be buried in a church on the island of Rab (Arbe) – unlike the other noblewomen from outside Zadar but married to Jadertine nobles as her testament contains no reasoning for this clause. Cf. GC I, 2, no. 17, stipulated on 17 June, 1564.

⁷¹ While Tomislav Raukar et al. list these two families separately, the sources mention the intermarried individuals usually as “de Grisogonis alias de Bartholatijs.” This has been acknowledged and is referenced in this way in this particular context. For the reference to the secondary literature, see Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 269–70, for a sourced reference to family names, cf. JMM III, 6, no. 175, stipulated on 21 June, 1539.

⁷² Budak, “Urban élites,” 195.

⁷³ Neven Budak stressed these issues from the beginning of his article, calling them “*desiderata* of future research” (emphasis in the original), highlighting the nobility's role within the church by questions as regards, for instance, the former's burial preferences in terms of favoured orders. However, little do we know about the nobility's activities within the Church, and again, the exception from that rule proves to be Dubrovnik. Nonetheless, as Neven Budak stresses, despite the constant scholarly efforts, the picture remains fragmentary. Ibid., 183, 195.

Table 7.2: Zadar's Noble Families and their preferred Burial Places (1540 to 1559)

family, clan ^a	OSB ^b	OSF ^c	OP ^d	other, n/a ^e
Begna (Benja)	1	–	1	1
Calcina (Calzina)	1	–	–	–
Cedulinus (Zadulini)	1	1	–	1
Ciprianus (Cipriano)	–	–	–	1
Civallellus (Civalelli)	–	1	–	–
de Dominis (Dominis)	1	–	–	–
Fanfoneus (Fanfogna)	–	2	–	–
Ferra	–	2	–	–
Fumatus (Fumatis)	–	–	2	–
Gallellus (Galelis)	1	1	–	1
Grisogonus–de Bartholatiis (Grisogono–Bartolazzi)	4	1	–	2
Nassis (Našić)	3	3	4	1
Pechiaro (Pekarić)	2	3	–	–
Rosa (Rosa)	1	–	2	–
Soppe (Soppe)	1	1	1	–
Tetricus (Detrik)	1	2	1	–

Sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JMM (1540–1554), MAS (1544–1548), ND (1540–1566), PB (1540–1569), PS (1545–1551), SM (1555–1567). In all, 111 individual documents were analysed (cf. above, too)..

- (a) Lists the noble families present in Zadar according to Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 269–70, with the exception of the Mathapharis (Matafari) family whose member mentioned were not among the testators. The Mathapharis family, however, preferred the Franciscan church, as evidenced by a testament from the late 1530s, cf. JMM III, 6, no. 163, stipulated on 3 April, 1539.
- (b) Totalling 17 instances, this column denotes all burial places within churches affiliated with the Order of St Benedict, i.e. the congregations of St Chrysogonus (male Benedictines) and St Mary (female Benedictines).
- (c) Totalling 17 instances, this column denotes all burial places within churches affiliated with the Order of Friars Minor, i.e. the congregations of St Francis (male Franciscans) and St Nicholas (female Franciscans or Poor Clare Sisters).
- (d) Totalling 11 instances, this column denotes all burial places within churches affiliated with the Order of Preachers, i.e. the congregations of St Dominic (male Dominicans) and St Demetrius (female Dominicans).
- (e) Totalling 7 instances, this column denotes all other and unspecified burial places.

On a related issue, the subsequent procuratorial instrument in Simon Budineus's records describes the non-noble congregation of the Poor Clare Sisters – under the patronage of St Marcella⁷⁴ – appointing the same procurator as their noble counterparts, “Nobilem Virum Jadrensis Joannem Chrisogonum quondam domini Andreae“, to deal with the same economical

⁷⁴ The document in question refers to the convent as “venerabiles dominae Moniales Sancte Marcellae ordinis Sancte Clarae in Civitate Jadrae.” Cf. SB I, 1, 6, f391r, stipulated on 27 October, 1562.

problem. Some of the family names of the listed nuns, though, belong to the more prestigious families of Zadar's non-noble elite citizens.⁷⁵

The number of noble nuns in autumn of 1562 amounted to fifty-six, a number which, if put into the context of Zadar's over-all aristocratic population totalling around 600 individuals⁷⁶, hints at two issues. First, given the over-all size of the city's nobility, roughly a tenth of all individuals of aristocratic descent was behind the walls of convents. If one assumed that roughly half of Zadar's nobility was female, the relative percentage of women behind cloistral walls increases to almost a fifth. At this point, the author stresses the point that the table above is not based upon actual monastical records (which should be examined in future works) but on a couple of procuratorial contracts from the early 1560s and the above-referenced initial analysis of testaments by female noble testators. Second, however, given the notion of the subject societies closely resembling Venice proper, it may be the case that developments as highlighted by Jutta Sperling and Mary Laven – high monachisation rates among female nobles⁷⁷ – may have occurred in Zadar's monasteries, too.

The third large group, the parish churches and hospitals existing in Zadar's old town as well as its surroundings, now take centre stage. While the importance of these institutions throughout the sources ranged from (relative) prominence to insignificance, their activities, too, involved the appointment of procurators for a variety of duties such as leasing (parts of)

⁷⁵ Among those listed were, among others, "Veneranda domina soror Martha Armana Abbatisa, sor Helena Clocoichia, sor Francischina de Boschettis, sor Helisabeth de Boschettis, sor Clara Bumbichia, sor Justina Brunouich, sor Cherubina Beniuento, sor Benedicta Armana, sor Archangela de Martinis, et sor Cornelia de Rossettis." All those family names listed suggest an elevated social posture among Zadar's commoners. Cf. SB I, 1, 6, f391r, stipulated on 27 October, 1562.

Some of the listed family names indicate an economic and social provenance from among the Jadertine mercantile community. For instance, the Armanus/Armano family features rather prominent among Zadar's commoners, among its members was also "ser Innocentius Armanus", a merchant and citizen, cf. DC I, 1, 8, 3, f11v/f12r, stipulated on 15 July, 1560.

Another example is "ser Georgius Brunouich", who owned a retail/storage facility in Zadar's main square, and is referred to as mercator and citizen, too. Cf. JM I, 4, f133r, stipulated on 26 December, 1557.

As regards "ser Jacobus de Bonivento", he is referred to as "mercator et civis jadrensis", too. Cf. DC I, 1, 3, f49r/f49v, stipulated on 9 June, 1556.

The same holds true of the "de Martinis" family, of which "ser Martinus" is a valid example as he is referred to as merchant as early as 1543. Cf. PB I, 1, 9, f28v/f29r, stipulated on 2 September, 1543.

Last but not least, the de Rossettis (de Pontremulo) are already well-known. Ccf. PB I, 3, f17v, stipulated on 11 September, 1548, as well as Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 259–60, 265, 300.

⁷⁶ Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 261–2.

⁷⁷ Follow Sperling, *Convents and the Body Politic*, 18–71, and, in general, Mary Laven, *Virgins of Venice*.

their benefices to the highest bidder, and the election of new chaplains.⁷⁸ Subsequently, a number of examples is provided.

Activities conducted by parish churches followed, in general, the activities pursued by any other individual and/or institution, although with a more ecclesiastical focus. For instance, the church of St Simeon (Sv Šime), dedicated to one of Zadar's patron saints⁷⁹, had even two procurators in the mid-1550s, "spectabilis et excellens leges utriusque doctor dominus Petrus Fanfoneus et spectabilis dominus Doymus Cedulinus." Both were prominent Jadertine nobles, testifying, in addition to the church being the resting place of St Simeon's relics, to the importance of the parish and its collegium. Jointly, they appointed "spectabilem dominum Petrum Cedulinum", another noble and kinsman of Doymus, to represent the church in Venice. Albeit absent, Petrus was sent to "Comparendum et se humiliter praesentandum ad pedes Illustrissimi Ducis Domini Venetiarum et coram alio quocumque celeberrimo magistratu et officio eiusdem Inclita civitatis Venetiarum". The reason behind this appointment was to obtain auxiliary funding by the Doge for necessary repairs, in other words to "obtinendum in gratiam auxilium in et pro necessaria reparatione (...) ecclesiae praefatae." Needless to say, in such cases the constituent parties sought to appoint high-ranking members of Zadar's society in order to increase its chances of success.⁸⁰

Another example, this time in terms of generating income from sinecures, was to rent out parts of the benefice. In autumn of 1554, "Magnificus et excellens leges utriusque doctor et eques dominus Joannes Rosa, et dominus Simon Britanicus uti procuratores ecclesiae Glorio-

⁷⁸ Elections of new chaplains were not too common, as their low number of appearances in the notarial instruments suggests, however, they bore considerable importance due to the fact that they bestowed sinecures upon the new holder of said benefices. Usually, the deceased holder or benefactor of the sinecure either left indications in his testament as to whom the goods were to be bestowed or willed that the executors and other relevant individuals affected by the election of a new holder of any benefice, elected a new holder. This happened, for instance, in the mid-1550s and involved the related Grisogonus and Tetricus families. In October of 1555, "Reverendus Franciscus de Bartholatijs Nobilis et Archipresbyter Jadrensis ex una, et Magnifici ac Nobiles Viri dominus Joannes Baptista, ac Aloysius Tetrici, Nec non ac nomine et vice Magnificorum dominorum Lombardini et Nicolai Nec Non Magnifica dominae Corneliae Tetricae, ac praefatus dominus Aloysius uti Donatarius et cessionarius noti Venerabilae dominae Perinae de Fumatis monialis In monasterio Sanctae Mariae de Jadra (...) ex altera", in accordance with a notarial instrument stipulated by Johannes Mazzarellus on 12 April, 1554, convened in Zadar's communal chancellory. Referring to a number of other documents from 10 August, 1497, and 17 January, 1551, Franciscus de Bartholatijs "fuerit et sit electus et institutus in cappellanum ad altarem seu capellam Sanctae Mariae virginis in dicta ecclesia moniales Sanctae Mariae (...) vigore Testamenti quondam Magnifici domini Donati Cialelli Nobili Jadre facti Venetijs" in the late 1490s. Usually, such elections were followed by the ratification of all involved parties – in this particular case, however, this approbation was followed by Franciscus de Bartholatijs ceding the benefice to "Reverendum ac excellentem dominum Presbyterum Blasium Sidineum Jadrensis", an absent doctor of both laws represented by his procurator and uncle, "Reverendus dominus Presbyter Simon Tutofeus". In all, two individual instruments were written in Zadar's communal chancellory, cf. SM I, 1, stipulated on 23 October, 1555.

⁷⁹ The other being St Anastasia or Sv Štosija, to whom Zadar's cathedral is dedicated.

⁸⁰ For all information above, cf. SM I, 1, 2, stipulated on 26 August, 1557.

sae Imaginis Virginis Mariae pacis de Suburbio Jadrae“, two of Zadar's most renown individuals of both noble and non-noble descent, appeared in the sources (cf. also part 4). Stipulating as the legal representatives of the church of Our Lady of Peace, situated in Zadar's suburbs, they leased the income of six gonjaj (or morgen, totalling circa 1.4 hectares) located “in pertinentijs villae Cerno“ (Crno) to “Stephano Goycich macellatori, civi et habitatori Jadra“ for the duration of three years, starting in March of 1555. In exchange, the butcher agreed to the annual payment of ten ducats, transferable “in fine cuiuslibet mensis Februarij.”⁸¹

One more field of interactions was that of the hospitals, of which two existed within Zadar's city walls, while two lazaretti were located further away.⁸² In some cases, the prior simply appointed procurators to represent the institution.⁸³ Every now and then, the administration of a charitable institution was bequeathed at least part of an inheritance. Once such an action was announced, the next step for the individuals in charge of the administrative tasks was to go to a notary public in order to obtain legally binding documentation, as was the case in 1550. “Dominus Martinus de Lucadellis guardianus, et ser Simon Britanicus, et Joannis Raymundinus (...) ac nomine, et vice domini Nicolai de Ventura“, all citizens of Zadar and procurators of the hospital of St Jacob, intervened to secure such a donation. Among the in-

⁸¹ For the information above, cf. DC I, 1, 2, f4r/f4v, stipulated on 2 November, 1554.

⁸² The two hospitals, dedicated to St Mark and St Jacob respectively, were located across St Anastasia's main entrance. Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 135, 266–8, and, in general, see Runje, “Lazaret u pregrađu.” In addition, see the appendix for detailed maps, statistics, and tables.

One of the two lazaretti was situated near what is today's Kolovare area, the “lazzaretto di San Marco“, probably located closer to the suburban fortifications. Opposed to the lazaretto for the leprous, this one was designated to take care of those unfortunate individuals who contracted the plague, indicated by its name appearing in an instrument in the early 1550s, the “lazaretj pestiferorum Jadre.“ Its definitive location is not completely clear, as Marina Mocellin provides two maps with two differing locations, one having been right outside the suburban fortifications (which were razed to extend the city's walls during the 1570s), the other suggesting a location at the coast to Zadar's southeast near today's Kolovare district. For the notarial act, cf. AM I, 1, C, stipulated on 13 December, 1551, the other quotes are from Mocellin, “Città fortificata,” 16, 30.

The other one, designated to quarantine the leprous, the “pauperium leprosorum Sancti Lazari extra menia suburbij Jadrae“, was located outside the suburban fortifications on the far side of the harbour, north-east of today's Queen Jelena Madijevka Park, “In loco dicto lazaretto“. For the former quote, cf. HM I, 2, f8r/f8v, stipulated on 25 January, 1568, for the latter quote, cf. DC I, 1, 2, f9r, stipulated on 5 August, 1568.

If the maps provided by Marina Mocellin are to be believed, the lazaretto for the leprous was situated in today's Voštarnica (Ceraria) district of Zadar, as indicated by the name of a minor valley leading to Zadar's port in a map from 1800, then called “Valle de Leprosi“. Mocellin, “Città fortificata,” 58.

There existed a third lazaretto, however, which was no longer in use by the mid-16th century but still functioned as a toponym, as evidenced by a reference from early 1559. In an instrument effecting a cassation of an earlier concession, the parcel of land in question is referred to as being “Iacentis ad lazaretum vetus“, but there is no additional information given. Cf. SB I, 1, 3, f170v, stipulated on 12 February, 1559.

⁸³ As happened in mid-January 1556 when “Martinus Brnicouich de Cerseuagne Sello, Vitus Caurich de Sale (Sali, Dugi Otok, the author) uti principales Pauperum leprosorum Sancti Lazari“, speaking also for the absent chaplain of the lazaretto, “dominus presbyter Nicolaus Zubich capellanus“, appointed “spectabilem dominum Nicolaum de Nassis quondam domini Cressij et dominum Bernardinum Carnarutum“ as new procurators in order to represent the lazaretto in its feud with “dominum Alexandrum Cocari, et magistrum Marcum Subich sutorem“ (a master-cobbler). Cf. JM I, 4, f87r, stipulated on 16 January, 1556.

habitants of the hospital were some women, one of them, “domina Simonella (...) Se obtulit et promisit post eius mortem relinquere suprascripto hospitali omnia bona sua que habitit in hos Sericulo.” She did so “sponte et deliberamente, non seducta neque circumventa” but attached the subsequent condition “que dicti Hospitale Teneatur et debeat post eius obitum ei facere funeralia”, effectively organising her funeral, probably because her husband, “quondam ser Francisci Britanici”, could no longer do so.⁸⁴

Fourth, individuals. One of the most interesting members of the of ecclesiastical elite was Simon Budineus or “Budinich”⁸⁵ (Šime Budinić), a Jadertine notary public, cleric, and writer.⁸⁶ In the early 1580s he went to Rome⁸⁷ and soon afterwards published at least two books in his native tongue, in which he pioneered the use of certain diacritic signs. After some time in Italy, he returned to his hometown, Zadar, where he died on 13 December, 1600.⁸⁸

Less is known about his earlier years, however, we do know he was born in the early 1530s and appeared in the sources some twenty years later, referred to as “clerico Mansionario ecclesie Jadrensis” (sacristan of Zadar’s cathedral).⁸⁹ He left six books filled with a total of 827 individual instruments, the earliest dated 3 October, 1556, the last one was written on 3 July, 1565.⁹⁰ It is safe to assume, then, that Simon Budineus spent this decade in Zadar, living and working in both ecclesiastical and secular worlds, before moving to Rome. During this decade he did not participate in many mundane businesses, however, two contracts hint at economic activities. The first of these two acts, written in January of 1560, mentions Simon Budineus renting “quorumque fructus dicti anni (1560, author’s note) spectantes praebende canonicatus sui quem obtinet in dicta ecclesia Jadrensis” from his uncle, “Reverendus dominus Sanctus de Sanctis canonicus Jadrensis.. The price they agreed upon was set at twenty–four ducats, of

⁸⁴ Cf. JM I, 4, f10r/f10v, stipulated on 29 August, 1550.

⁸⁵ This particular spelling is from a rental contract, cf. DC I, 1, 8, 1, f46v/f47r, stipulated on 9 January, 1560.

⁸⁶ His name first appears in the sources in June 1557, when he buys a patch of land, in all 3.75 gonjaj (or morgen, in all circa 8,887.5 square metres) next to Vrsevac along the road to Nin (as seen from Zadar), for 140 li-bras. In this contract, Simon Budineus, is referred to as “clericus et notarius jadrensis.” Cf. DC I, 1, 5, f15r/f15v, stipulated on 1 June, 1557.

⁸⁷ One may only wonder how a cleric, priest, and notary public from within the Venetian realms was received in Rome, after all, the Papacy banned it well in advance of his journey. However, since the last priest–notary in Venice proper worked until 1570, the case of Simon Budineus may have been almost the second–to–last one. Follow Pedani Fabris, *Veneta Auctoritate Notarius*, 1–19, but see also Cracco, “Preti–notai di Venezia,” 179–89, and Guzzetti, *Venezianische Vermächtnisse*, 22.

⁸⁸ These works include writings on the psalms of David and a translation of Juan de Polanco’s writings into Slovene. Today, his legacy is kept alive by a bust in Zadar’s old town and the Poljana Šime Budinića (Simon Budineus Square), named after him. See the introduction for more detailed information but see also Burke, “Renaissance Translator,” 29, Moguš, *History of the Croatian Language*, 77–8, Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 413–6, and Vidaković, “Cultural–political history of Zadar,” 16–7.

⁸⁹ Cf. DC I, 1, 8, 1, f46v/f47r, stipulated on 9 January, 1560.

⁹⁰ Cf. SB I, 1, 1, f1r/f1v, stipulated on 3 October, 1556, and SB I, 1, 6, f505r–f506v, stipulated on 3 July, 1565.

which he paid twenty–three libras and two solidi up front and another seventy–six libras and eighteen solidi in cash while promising to pay the rest – twenty–four libras – within the subsequent twenty–two days. In addition to this business deal, it may be assumed that Sanctus de Sanctis' sinecure was at least partially located on the island of Iž (Eso) as “Anastasia (...) de Sale“, a resident of Zadar, vouched “ad cautellam et securitatem dicti domini conductoris et heredum Suorum“, most likely because she had intimate knowledge about the possessions involved. Finally, the contract also reveals the fact that Sanctus' house stood in the vicinity of Zadar's castle, as given in the valediction: “Actum Jadrae in curia domus habitationis dicti domini locatoris in confinio castrī“.⁹¹

The other instrument, stipulated in late November of 1558, referred to Simon Budineus conceding three gonjaj (or morgen, totalling roughly 7,110 square metres) located in the vicinity of the church of St Peter on Iž (Eso) to “excellenti Juris utriusque Doctoris domino Petri de Fanfoneo“, a nobleman of Zadar, for at least five years. There is some uncertainty whether or not the conceded land actually belonged to Simon Budineus as he is mentioned in the contract as “plebanus, ut dixit, ecclesiae Sancti Petri de Eso diocesis Jadrensis“, making it possible, even likely, that he transferred a part of the corresponding benefice. The contract further detailed that within the next three years the latter had to plant this patch of land in its entirety, hand over a quarter of the grapes, and a third of the olives from 1563 onwards. In addition, Petrus was promised a bonus of four solidi for each newly planted olive tree.⁹²

As the marginal appearance in the instrument books of the notaries during the roughly ten years of Simon Budineus' documented presence in Zadar suggests, his activities as a member of the ecclesiastical and intellectual elite included speak a different language. Among these were the sacristan's duties in the cathedral, the dealings of the holder of the sinecure of St Peter's on Iž (Eso), and his literary as well as linguistic studies, eventually leading to the publi-

⁹¹ Cf. DC I, 1, 8, 1, f46v/f47r, stipulated on 9 January, 1560.

⁹² Cf. NC I, 2, f2r–f3r, stipulated on 28 November, 1558.

Part of the reason for this bonus – which also appears in a significant number of other concessions – for planting new olive trees may have been the decline of the olive and olive oil production after the War of 1537 to 1541, as, for instance highlighted in the report by “ser Giacomo Pisano“. Upon his return from the office of count of Zadar in the early 1566, he wrote that “fu fatto un proclama, che alcuno non potesse pinatar vignie, se non piantasse per ogni gugnial (gonjaj or morgen, the author) 12 piedi de olivari, con pene a quelli fussero inobbedienti; per il che fino al partir mio n'erano stà piantadi 5,100. Et essendo, come è, beneffitio delli suoi sudditi, continueranno al piantarne ogn'anno. Et si facea nel contado et isole avanti 1537 miera 600; ma per li disturbi hora se ne fanno 100 miera, essendo secati et brusati li olivari; il qual con molto apresso che vien dalla Puglia si consuma nella città, contado et isole.“ Not only did the over–all production of olives and olive drop to about one sixth of pre–1537 levels, then the import of olives and olive oil from Apulia was necessary. Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 3, 167.

cation of his two books. All other references to Simon Budineus in the sources hint at his social posture within the fabric of Jadertine society which can be assumed to have been rather elevated compared to his peers.⁹³

5.3. *Economic Elites: Actors, By-standers, and Commodities*

The last section of the present chapter details the economically active individuals based on their appearance in the sources in terms of material wealth and social prestige. A multitude of examples concerning one aspect of economic activity is given in the following chapter detailing Zadar's real estate market. Consequently, the following statements about the economic elites is cursory and by no means the definitive end result of research into this particular field of activities. Having stated this, let us now focus on who these individuals were and what they did.

First it is necessary to establish that economic activities can be divided into two interrelated but distinctively separate ranges of activities, the mercantile endeavours and the real estate market. As regards the former, its nature may almost be described as long-distance trading dominated by 'foreign' individuals and/or trading entities.⁹⁴ While this changed fundamentally over the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as interesting as it may be, in the context of the present study this aspect of daily life is only of secondary importance.⁹⁵ The latter, however, is not only much more tangible in terms of accessibility via notarial instruments and reveals interesting aspects of economic life in the mid-sixteenth century but also in

⁹³ This is based upon the facts that among Simon Budineus' notarial clients were the archbishopric and a variety of high-profile individuals, including "ser Baptista Diphnyci quondam domini Georgii", a noble of Šibenik, "meser Hieronymo Gallelli (...) spettabile meser Pietro Ferra, et meser Gregorio Grisogono", all three from the ranks of Zadar's nobility. For the references mentioned here, cf., in the order of their appearance, DC I, 1, 6, f29v/f30r, stipulated on 26 October, 1558, DC I, 1, 8, 2, f41v, stipulated on 20 May, 1560, as well as JMM III, 6, no. 338, stipulated on 19 December, 1545, and HM I, 5, f6v/f7r, stipulated on 22 October, 1569.

⁹⁴ In general, see the literature review, for good starting points for these endeavours by Venetian patricians and commoners are Arbel, *Trading Nations*, Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, Jacoby, *Méditerranée orientale*, Lane and Mueller, *Money and Banking*, and Luzzatto, *Storia economica di Venezia*.

For the family-related aspects, start with Doumerc, "Dominio del mare," 150–4 (on page 151 Bernard Doumerc even applies the term "*holding*" to the business practices of Venice's patricians; emphasis in the original), Lane, "Family Partnerships," 36–55, and Chojnacki, "Dowries and Kinsmen."

⁹⁵ The reasons for this are manifold, however, among the more prominent reasons is that a different set of sources would be required to adequately analyse these interactions and ranges of commercial activities. The main obstacle for additionally surveying these economic relations is the fact that the sources required, the so-called contralittere, are only fragmentary conserved and there are even less comparative studies. For instance, Tomislav Raukar conducted research into the mercantile activities of 15th-century Split based upon contralitterae (export/import licences), as did Josip Kolanović for late medieval Šibenik. Raukar, "Jadransko gospodarski sustavi," and Kolanović, "Šibenik (contralittere)," and Schmitt, "Südosteuropa als Kommunikationsraum," 100. However, as these sources are not the basis of the present study, this research field must be left to future studies.

terms of the over-all importance of agriculture and landownership in early modern societies and will be discussed in more detail in the subsequent chapter.

As the evaluation of their reports revealed, the Venetian legates, governors, and military commanders were consistently describing Zadar's populace as living "di qualche poca intrada ma per lo più di trafichi et arti."⁹⁶ Also, the wealth of the nobility "non è molta, perchè la maggior intrada che sia fra loro, è di ducati quattrocento, cinquecento et fino settecento."⁹⁷ As a consequence, if neither the aristocrats nor any other social group has been named, the question as to who were the financially potent individuals and/or institutions remains. Tomislav Raukar writes of an economically declining nobility during the fifteenth century, whose (relative) wealth was only rarely matched by wealthy commoners. In addition, the fifteenth century witnessed a considerable shift from commerce, trade, and the accumulation of surplus capital to investments in real estate property. The decline in salt production over the course of the fifteenth century and the increasing frequency of Ottoman raids into the agriculturally important hinterlands contributed to a period of decline in central Dalmatia from roughly the mid-fifteenth century onwards.⁹⁸

Second, as a consequence the question as to who the key players in Zadar's economic fabric were leads to the following conclusions. The Venetian involvement in local markets is almost invisible in the notarial instruments, only exceptionally did (resident) patricians appear. One of these was "Magnifico domino Francisco Dandulo qondam celeberrimi domini Joannis", referred to as "patritio Veneto"⁹⁹ in the sources, apparently a lower member of the prestigious Dandolo family. After buying some property within Jadertine jurisdiction¹⁰⁰ and rent-

⁹⁶ Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 197.

⁹⁷ Both quotes are from the report by Johannes Baptista Justiniano and Antonius Diedo from 1553, who named only the Tetricus (Tetrico/Detrik), Rosa, and Civallelli (Civallello/Civaleli) family clans as earning up to 700 ducats per annum. *Ibid.*, 197.

For the Slavic family names, see also Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 261–2.

⁹⁸ Tomislav Raukar further investigated the economic implications of this particularly deteriorating environment for Zadar and its society. His conclusion is that both Ottoman and Venetian factors, in combination with the economic and political developments in the wider Adriatic and Mediterranean region, caused the Dalmatian cities first to stagnate in the 15th century and then subsequently to decline from the 16th century onwards. Raukar, *Zadar u XV. stoljeću*, 281–97.

⁹⁹ For the reference to Franciscus having been a Venetian Patrician, cf. PS I, 1, f15r, stipulated on 28 February, 1549, for the reference to the status of resident in Zadar, cf. PB I, 1, 9, f27r, stipulated on 9 August, 1543.

¹⁰⁰ He constituted an exception in many ways, mostly because Franciscus Dandolo, a Venetian patrician and resident of Zadar, actually bought two patches of land near Lukoran (Lucorano) on the island of Ugljan in 1540, making him stand out among the other Venetians present who refrained from engaging in the local property markets. For the property transactions, cf. AM I, 1, 1, B, stipulated on 8 July, 1540 (two individual contracts).

ing out some other lands he acquired via incanto¹⁰¹, he also bought a grippo¹⁰² with a cargo capacity of two-hundred star from “ser Petrus Cherletich“, a noble of Pag for the price of fifty-five ducats, which Franciscus paid in specie.¹⁰³ Reinforcing his home base in Zadar by acquiring a domuncula (small house) next to his own house “prope ecclesiam Sanctae Mariae de bongaudio“ on the property of “domino Joanni Begna dicti Scauich“¹⁰⁴ in 1549¹⁰⁵, it can be concluded that Franciscus Dandulo was not only actively engaged in the economic aspects of Jadertine life¹⁰⁶ but also participating in maritime trading, as the cause of his death suggests. In summer or fall of 1551, Franciscus was sailing off the coast of Apulia when his ship capsized and sunk. This incident caused his brother’s son, “Magnificus dominus Marinus Dandulo quondam Magnifici domini Marci Antonij Patritius Venetus“ to sail from Venice to Zadar because he and his absent brothers “Magnificis dominis Petro et Andrea“ were appointed heirs by the late Franciscus. It was there where Marinus appointed “dominum Jacobum Moran ferrariensem in Terra Bari“ to arrange for the collection of his uncle’s body, possessions, and

¹⁰¹ Franciscus leased half of the introitus (annual income) of the village of Sali (Sale), Dugi Otok (Isola Grossa/Lunga) for an annual pension of 178 ducats on 6 April, 1546, payable each April on St George’s Day (23 April) In January 1547, though, he ceded his rights to “domimo Dominico de Nassis quondam domini Petri“, the original “conductor principalis introitus insulae Sale.“ Cf. PB I, 2, 13, stipulated on 17 January, 1547.

What becomes evident is that Franciscus Dandulo was very much engaged in the local Jadertine property market as compared to his fellow Venetian patricians, who refrained from doing so.

¹⁰² In summer of 1543, “ser Petrus Cherletich Nobilis Terre Pagi“, then residing in Zadar, sold “unum Grippum dicti ser Petri venditoris, capacitatis stariorum 200 (1 Venetian star equalled circa 81.3 litres, 200 star thus equalled 16.7 cubic metres in loading capacity, the author), in circa, ad praesens existentium in portu Jadre“. The vessel was sold to “Magnifico domino Francisco Dandulo, Patritio veneto, Jadre habitatori (...) cum omnibus, ac Singulis cordis, ac alijs armigijs“ for the price of 55 ducats, which the buyer paid out in specie at the stipulation of the contract. Cf. PB I, 1, 9, f27r, stipulated on 9 August, 1543.

According to Frederic Lane, the grippo was a small single-masted sailing boat of up to approximately 17 metres length and 3–4 metres breadth with a cargo storage capacity of, in the above-referenced context, circa 17 cubic metres. It was employed in both commerce and fishing and could, if needed, be rowed and/or converted for fighting purposes. Lane, *Ships and Shipbuilders*, 53.

¹⁰³ It is interesting to see that in many cases payments were split, i.e. a part had been paid in advance of the stipulation of the contract, some or the rest at the time the contracting parties went to the notary public, sometimes parts of the outstanding sums were even paid in kind.

¹⁰⁴ Another contract refers to the same individual as “domini Joannis de Begna dicti Scauich Nobilis Jadrensis“, highlighting, again, the fact that the nobility lived in both worlds, Latin-Italian and Slavic. Cf. PS I, 1, f15r, stipulated on 28 February, 1549.

This notion is furthered in another contract from mid-January of 1562, in which “dominus Georgius de Begna alias Scauich quondam domini Joannis nobilis Jadrae“ sold “animalium minutorum capita quadraginta“ to “domino Joanni eius filio.“ Cf. DC I, 1, 9, stipulated on 15 January, 1562.

¹⁰⁵ A Greek artisan, “Magister Joannes Grecus de Corta cerdo“ (master-cobbler/shoemender) and resident of Zadar, sold his domuncula to Franciscus Dandulo for the price of 142 libras and 2 solidi. As mentioned above, the owner of the property upon which the lodging stood was “domino Joanni Begna“ to whom Franciscus was obliged to pay a livellum (annual rent) of 4 libras and 10 solidi. Franciscus paid Johannes 37 libras in advance and the rest, 105 libras and 2 solidi, in cash at the time of the stipulation of the contract. Cf. PS I, 1, f15r, stipulated on 28 February, 1549.

¹⁰⁶ An example thereof is “strenuus dominus Cominus Frassina Capitaneus stratiotarum in Jadra“, who named himself a debtor of Franciscus Dandulo “et hoc pro unius equi (...) pro pannis“ and other equestrian equipment bought from the latter on 20 September, 1536. The total outstanding sum amounted to 300 ducats and Cominus obliged himself and his heirs to paying it back in its entirety. Cf. JMM I, 2, 1, f6r, stipulated on 26 June, 1540.

formally issue a quietatio (quitclaim) for the sunken ship's captain.¹⁰⁷ Jacobus, originally from Ferrara, was probably known by Marinus or his late uncle, for otherwise the absent individual would most likely not have been appointed. The story of the life and death of Franciscus Dandulo is only one of other individuals who, by virtue of their descent and economic prowess, must be considered to have been not only a part of the political and social but also of the economic elite.¹⁰⁸ Another example would be the branch of the Venerius/Venier family residing in Zadar, who were also very much integrated with the rest of the Jadertine populace.¹⁰⁹

Apart from the Venetians active in commerce and the military, the local economy, and its real estate markets as the subsequent chapter will empirically detail, were dominated by both the local aristocracy and the clergy. Considering those aspects not related to property transactions, a list closely resembling the naming of individuals by the Venetians administrative officials as detailed in the *Commissiones* emerges.¹¹⁰ Their economic activities revolved mostly

¹⁰⁷ Cf. FT I, 2, f15r, stipulated on 8 October, 1551.

¹⁰⁸ Also, he is one of the few Venetians who featured rather prominently in the sources, in all his name and/or relation is mentioned in 14 individual contracts, which was the reason (and the possibility) to include his story in such detail.

¹⁰⁹ The Jadertine Venier branch appears comparatively prominent in the reports of the Venetian officials, commanding the outpost in Zemunik (Zemonico) in the early 1540s. Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 172.

The same family appears in 1553, when the returned captain, Paulus Justiniano, describes Thomaso Venier, an able commander, as well-liked by both the Jadertine citizenry as well as the Ottomans because of his "gentilezza et destrezza." Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 3, 51.

Also Antonius Michiel, former count of Zadar, refers to Thomaso's military skills in his report in mid-1557, stating that the latter's cavalry detachment, stationed in Zemunik, provided a certain degree of security. Ibid., 102.

More information about the Jadertine branch of the Venier family is provided in part 4.

¹¹⁰ Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 197.

around buying and/or renting livestock¹¹¹, leasing the salt pans they possessed on Pag¹¹², and the selling of naval vessels.¹¹³ The ensuing examples for these three categories have been chosen from the respective contracts amounting to transferred sums higher than hundred ducats.

First, the salines. Jadertine salt production declined significantly during the fifteenth century¹¹⁴, by the mid–sixteenth century only parts of the clergy and a small number of mostly aristocratic individuals were engaged in this trade. One of these was the family of “domina Francischina uxor quondam domini Nicolai de Rosa nobilis Jadre“, who during the 1540s, appeared four times selling a total of twenty–five salines “in valle Pagi in confinio Sancti Joannis Incangerich“ for a total of 433 ducats to – in all four cases – “domino Georgio Mirch-

¹¹¹ Over the three decades, only 25 individual contracts documenting livestock sales were documented by Zadar’s notaries, in addition to these, there are 11 individual contracts in which livestock was leased/rented to someone else by the owner. In all of these 36 instances, the number of owners, though, remained very limited suggesting that livestock possession was firmly in the hands of the Nassis (11 out of 36 owners), Soppe (4 out of 36), Begna (3 out of 36), and the Ferra as well as the Rosa families (1 each out of 36); in addition, twice the archbishopric is named as the owner of the livestock, all other owners were listed only once.

Conversely, on the buyer/tenant side of the contracts, the merchants of the de Pontremolo (both Johannes Antonius and Lazarus, 9 out of 36 times) and the Ventura families (Franciscus and Hieronymus, 3 out of 36 times) as well as the Soppe (7 out of 36 times) were the most prominent recipients, all other owners of both noble (e.g. Begna, Gallellus) and non–noble (Toninus, de Hermolais) descent were listed only once.

Sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries DC (1555–1561), JM (1545–1569), PB (1540–1569), SB (1556–1566), SM (1555–1567), based upon 25 livestock sales (emptiones) and 11 livestock leases (locationes); in 20 out of these 36 transactions, the livestock were on islands off the coast but still under Zadar’s jurisdiction.

In the livestock sales, the turnover amounted to the total of 2,369.9 ducats, with prices ranging from 1 ducat per cow (cf. PB I, 1, 8, f15v, stipulated on 15 September, 1541) to 3–4 goats per ducat (cf. JM I, 3, f53r, stipulated on 10 March, 1555, and JM I, 4, f170v, stipulated on 3 October, 1558).

The turnover in the 11 locationes was smaller, totalling only 1,016.8 ducats or around 92 ducats on average. As far as the numbers of livestock involved is concerned, some documents did not list them, but there are references to herds of 400 (JM I, 3, f78v, stipulated on 27 June, 1555) to 800 animals (JM I, 3, f80r/f80v, stipulated on 4 July, 1555). Admittedly, there are no indications as to which animals these were, most likely, though, they were goats and/or sheep, as there exists a third contract listing 600 goats and sheep (cf. SM I, 1, 11, stipulated on 1 February, 1556).

¹¹² In all, the notarial records preserved in the DAZd reveal that six times salt pans were sold and on thirteen other occasions, some of them were leased. The salt production capacities were concentrated in the hands of a few noble families – namely the Rosa (appearing 7 times) and Fanfoneus (appearing 4 times) – as well as the nobles–only nunnery of St Mary OSB of Zadar (appearing 3 times). For comparative reasons, see also Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 85–88.

¹¹³ The various contracts involving the partial or complete transaction of a ship could not possibly be analysed in terms of tendencies – except for the fact that most ships sold were, at the time of the stipulation of the instrument, in Zadar’s port and that most stipulating parties were not from Zadar or from somewhere under its jurisdiction. Also the number of ships sold via notarial instruments is rather small, totalling only 15 instances over the three decades under survey. Further details are given below.

¹¹⁴ Based on documents from the Croatian State Archive in Zadar, Tomislav Raukar noted that the number of active salt pans under Zadar’s jurisdiction declined from 104 run by the nobility and 65 run by the commoners during the 14th century to 26 run by the former and 16 run by the latter between 1409 and 1500. This decline, roughly 75 %, was not only mirrored but even exceeded by the number of active salt pans on Pag during the same period: He gives the numbers of 825 (nobles) and 117 (commoners) for the 14th century, dropping to 288 and 57 respectively for the 15th century – declines by roughly 85 % and 80 % respectively. This development came mostly because of Venetian attempts to monopolise the salt trade (and its revenues) for itself, rendering it very difficult for local merchants to profit from it, and contributing to the over–all decline in economic activities. Raukar, *Zadar u XV. stoljeću*, 206–19, the numbers are from the table on page 208.

ouich Nobilis Pagi.“ The payment was conferred via an intermediary, Lazarus de Gnochis de Pontremulo, specifically listed as “depositarius“, whose importance within the economic cycles was high.¹¹⁵ Another noble Jadertine family in possession of salines on Pag was the Fanfogna clan, whose most prominent members, “spectabilis et excellens leges utriusque doctor dominus Petrus Fanfoneus Nobilis Jadre“ and “Magnificus dominus Franciscus Fanfoneus Eques Nobilis Jadre“, rented eighteen salines each to “ser Antonius Rumocich de Pago“, grossing a total sum of 312 ducats over a cumulative duration of six years.¹¹⁶ But not only the worldly elite was engaged in this lucrative business, also the ecclesiastical elite was present. For instance, the Benedictine nobles—only St Mary's convent leased the income of its salt pans on at least three occasions to “ser Antonio Ramorich de Pago“, the already-known Georgius Mirchouich, and “domino Matheo Migauzich nobili Pagensis.“ The total sum involved, though, was comparatively low: Only some 12 ducats and 175 libras were earned but provided the convents with a secure and steady flow of income.¹¹⁷

Second, livestock transactions. With only very few exceptions, the livestock market was controlled by the Jadertine nobles, providing those who owned pecudina (cattle), caprina/pecora (goats), and animalia minuta (domestic/small livestock) with a steady stream of income. Here, too, as detailed above in the context of the lucrative salt production, the same clans appeared throughout the sources. Among Zadar's nobility, the Begna¹¹⁸ and Nassis families stand out, but were not the only ones. The latter family sold livestock on at least

¹¹⁵ For the information, cf. JM I, 1, f3r–f4v, stipulated on 5 February, 1545, PB I, 2, 12, stipulated on 28 August, 1547, PB I, 3, f16r/f16v, stipulated on 9 September, 1548, and PB I, 3, f17r/f17v, stipulated on 11 September, 1548.

For the reference to Lazarus, see above but also Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 259–61.

Actually, the Rosa family appeared two more times, although in the name of “domini Michael, ac Franciscus de Rosa quondam excellentissimi leges utriusque Doctoris domini Simonis“ leasing some of their salines to “venerabili domino presbitro Georgio Zorulich Canonico Pagensis“, although for less money as compared to the selling of the salines. Cf. JMM I, 2, 1, f30v–f31r, stipulated on 11 October, 1540, and ND I, 1, F, stipulated on 23 May, 1543.

¹¹⁶ Included in these two contracts was the right to use the storage facilities on Pag near the salines as well as additional payment issues like pay days, etc. Cf. JM I, 5, f29r/f29v, stipulated on 13 February, 1561, and JM I, 6, f12v/f13r, stipulated on 10 April, 1564.

¹¹⁷ Apart from the two noble families discussed here, it is worth pointing out that 3 out of 13 individual instruments documenting the leasing of salt pans on Pag involved the nunnery of St Mary OSB. In two of these instances, Jadertine nobles appeared acting as the convent's procurators (the third time one of the nuns is listed). On two out of these three occasions, the tenants were nobles of Pag – “domino Georgio Mirchouich nobili Pagensis“ and “domino Matheo Migauzich nobili Pagensis“ –, the third time “ser Antonio Ramorich de Pago“ was the named tenant. Cf., in order of their naming, JM I, 3, f48r, stipulated on 13 February, 1555, ND I, 1, B, stipulated on 10 October, 1540, and DC I, 1, 8, 2, f6v/f7r, stipulated on 1 February, 1560.

¹¹⁸ “Domina Pasiza uxor quondam domini Nicolai de Begna“, appeared twice, selling a total of 1,600 goats (2–3 years old) to “specabili domino Joanni de Hermolais quondam Magnifici domini Francisci nobili Arbensis“ (Rab/Arbe) for 3 to 4 goats per ducat for the total sum of 533 ducats. Cf. JM I, 3, f53r, stipulated on 10 March, 1555, and JM I, 3, f84r, stipulated on 23 July, 1555.

seven occasions, in four of those seven the buyer was – again – the Pontremulo merchant family. In all, 414 animalia minuta changed their possessors, netting the Nassis clan a total of 408 ducats.¹¹⁹ Interestingly, the same relation between the owner and the leasing party was kept up in two renting contracts. In both, “domina Catherina filia quondam domini Simonis de Nassis dicti il Mesco nobilis Jadrensis uxor domini Lucij Georgio Veneti” leased the total number of 255 goats and sheep to – again – “domino Joanni de Pontremulo Civi et mercatori Jadra.” Included in the contracts, which grossed another 119 ducats, was the provision that the renting party was granted the use of the meadows upon which the livestock was grazing.¹²⁰ And while the nobility dominated the livestock business, the buying/renting parties were usually either nobles, too, or, as documented, from within the ranks of very few financially potent merchants like the merchants from Pontremoli. Another interesting fact is most of the livestock appearing in the sources, in all slightly less than forty contracts, was situated on one or another island but not on the mainland, most likely for fear of raiding parties and theft.

Third, the ship trade. The defining difference from the two categories outline above was the fact that, with the exception of Franciscus Dandulo, this segment of the economy existed more or less outside the range of activities of both the foreign and domestic nobility. The contracting parties came virtually from all over the Adriatic, from “Malamocho” (Malamocco)¹²¹ and “Clodia” (Chioggia)¹²² in the Venetian lagoon to “Pirano”¹²³ (Piran/Pirano) in Istria, extending southwards to Zadar, Šibenik (Sebenico)¹²⁴, and beyond. The over-all number of contracts involving the selling of a ship is very low, as the over-all importance of this segment of the economy appears to have been. However, the reason for listing it here was to show that

¹¹⁹ Three times Lazarus de Gnochis de Pontremulo is named as the buyer, the fourth time it is his next-of-kin “domino Joanni Antonio de Pontremolo mercatori et habitatori Jadre”. Cf. DC I, 1, 2, f28v/f29r, stipulated on 16 March, 1555, DC I, 1, 2, f37r/f37v, stipulated on 10 May, 1555, JM I, 3, f99r, stipulated on 10 September, 1555, and SM I, 1, 9, 14 March, 1562 (Johannes Antonius).

¹²⁰ Cf. SB I, 1, 6, f313r/f313v, stipulated on 12 May, 1561, and CC I, 1, 1, f15r/f15v, stipulated on 16 July, 1567.

¹²¹ The vendor, “Paulus filius Francisci Bressanini habitator Malamochi”, sold a marciliana with 300 Venetian star capacity (roughly 25 cubic metres) to “domino Bartholomeo Augustini de Nigris de Ravenna ad praesens habitatori Jadre” for the price of 90 ducats. Cf. JM I, 3, f13r, stipulated on 16 August, 1553.

¹²² In early 1557, “ser Bernardinus quondam Nicolai Mantacouich de Bescamodo habitator Clodie (Chioggia), sold “unam barcam bracezam pedum viginti quatuor in circa existentem in portum Jadre” to “ser Joanni quondam Stoie de Corcira” (Korčula/Curzola) for the price of 100 libras. Only shortly was the ship in Bernardinus’s possession – the instrument also stated that he acquired it on 17 January, 1557, in Rab (Arbe). Cf. DC I, 1, 4, f38v, stipulated on 17 March, 1557.

¹²³ In autumn of 1541, “ser Georgius Spatario de Pirano Nauta” (sailor), sold a “barca a pedota” with 350 Venetian star capacity (roughly 29.2 cubic metres) to “ser Damiano de Lustiza, habitatori Jadre” for the price of 47 ducats. Cf. PB I, 1, 8, f19r, stipulated on 30 October, 1541.

¹²⁴ In the beginning of 1541, “ser Franciscus de Pontremullo, et ser Michael Radinouich alias Barbiricich Ambo Mercatores, ac Cives, et habitatores Jadre” sold their respective halves of a jointly-possessed grippo with 100 star capacity (roughly 8.3 cubic metres) to “Thome Ganelich de Sibenico naute habitatori Jadre”, for the total price of 125 libras and 15 solidi. Cf. ND I, 1, C, stipulated on 4 January, 1541.

not only the merchant endeavours but also related aspects of the economic activities were not as dominated by the nobility and the clergy as were salt production and livestock transactions.

6. Economic Case Study: Zadar's Property Markets

As noted by Tomislav Raukar¹²⁵, the increased influx of money in what appeared to be safer investment opportunities – real estate property – over the sixteenth century leads to the question how this statement could be explored for Zadar's environs. Consequently, the following sections analyse the Jadertine property markets in a case study in order to assess its dynamics, sizes, and changes, investigating the following three aspects: *emptions* (acquisition contracts), *concessionessive pastinations* (planting concessions), and *locationes* (rent contracts).

Table 8: Property Transactions, Overview (1540 to 1569)

notary public	<i>emptions</i> ^a	<i>concessionessive</i> ^c	<i>locationes</i> ^b
AM	26	3	4
CC	20	13	10
DC	269	93	41
FT	55	8	2
GC	3	9	2
HM	24	17	12
JM	98	95	30
JMM	34	7	7
MAS	1	1	–
NC	28	7	5
DC	138	57	20
PS	6	6	1
PB	197	64	15
SB	119	60	54
SM	49	39	20
	1,067	479	226

Sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JM (1545–1569), JMM (1540–1554), MAS (1544–1548), NC (1558–1567), ND (1540–1566), PB (1540–1569), PS (1545–1551), SB (1556–1565), SM (1555–1567). In all, 1,772 individual contracts were analysed. See also the appendix for more details.

(a) Lists all contracts explicitly described as *emptio* or in which the notary used the words *sellis* (*vendidit*), *buys* (*acquisierit*), and/or by means of purchase (*modo venditionis*).

(b) Lists all contracts explicitly described as *concessio* or *pastinatio* (keywords: *concessit*, *modo concessionis*).

(c) Lists all contracts explicitly described as *locatio* (keywords: *locavit*, *modo locationis*).

¹²⁵ This has been examined for 15th-century Zadar in much detail by Tomislav Raukar, who ascribed real estate property a continuous importance in the Jadertine economy even after 1409. Subsequently increasing trade restrictions imposed by Venice resulted in less available surpluses, further contributing to the over-all decline in economic activity and the contemporaneous ascent of importance of real estate property. See Raukar, *Zadar u XV. stoljeću*, 71–196, especially the section on property developments on pages 151–96.

6.1. *Emptiones sive Venditiones*

In a first step, let us examine the real estate market and its characteristics for the parcels of land bought and sold. As table 9 displays, this was by far the largest part of the property transactions, exceeding the rental markets, its smallest component, by almost five times.

Table 9: Acquisitions Market, Overview (1540 to 1569)

	no. of acts ^a	% of total ^b	Latin ^c	'Italian' ^d	mixed ^e	♀ sellers ^f	♀ buyers ^g
1540s	352	33 %	350	–	2	66	21
1550s	356	33.4 %	356	–	–	58	21
1560s	359	33.6 %	356	3	–	49	46
	1,067	100 %	1,062	3	2	173	88

Sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JM (1545–1569), JMM (1540–1554), MAS (1544–1548), NC (1558–1567), ND (1540–1566), PB (1540–1569), PS (1545–1551), SB (1556–1565), SM (1555–1567). In all, 1,067 individual contracts were analysed.

Table 9 shows an overview of the vending contracts upon which the subsequent analysis is based. See also the appendix for more details.

- (a) Lists the over–all numbers of vending contracts for the three decades from 1 January, 1540, to 31 December, 1569.
- (b) Lists the share of the single decades relative to the over–all number in the respective decades.
- (c) Lists the over–all number of individual instruments written in Latin corresponding to the relative decade. The bottom line gives the total number of notarial acts written in Latin.
- (d) Lists the over–all number of individual instruments written in the Venetian variant of the 'Italian' language corresponding to the relative decade. The bottom line gives the total number of notarial acts written in this language.
- (e) Lists the over–all number of individual instruments written in both Latin and the Venetian variant of the 'Italian' language.
- (f) This gives the over–all numbers of female constituent parties for the three decades, measured by women being the only constituent party and/or additions like *mulier sui iuris*. The bottom line gives the over–all number of female constituent parties for the three decades.
- (g) This gives the over–all numbers of female constituent parties for the three decades, measured by women being the only procuratorial party and/or additions like *mulier sui iuris*. The bottom line gives the over–all number of female constituent parties for the three decades.

Property transactions are a very suitable kind of sources to obtain a first impression of the dimensions, financial aspects, and scale of the economic activities of a society, especially in pre–modern centuries. In addition, the structural uniformity of the source texts in combination with the fixed constants and values they contain as well as their relative abundance render them imminently useful.¹²⁶

Simply by looking at the first set of data provided above, three points stand out: First, the apportionment into three decades reveals that the total number of property transactions remained constant between – despite – the two Ottoman–Venetian wars. This is of considerable importance, especially considering the fact that the *emptiones* part of the real estate market, at

¹²⁶ An exemplary transcription of such a contract is provided in the appendix.

least in terms of individual transactions, remained astoundingly stable. Second, although this is a minor issue, the notaries' language of choice for their backup copies of the contracts was Latin almost every time. At least this constitutes a minor difference from the procuratorial instruments. More important, though, is the third issue – female protagonists. While in Antiquity women were more or less equal to men in terms of their legal rights to confer property¹²⁷, their legal status eroded over the Middle Ages, rendering it almost impossible for woman to buy or sell even their own immobile goods without the explicit licence and/or consent of either their father, husband, and brother(s).¹²⁸ As the numbers derived from the protocol books of Zadar's notaries public suggest, slightly less women (in relative terms) engaged in the property market than in appointing procurators, however, the big difference to the procuratorial instruments lies elsewhere. While women sold real estate only slightly less than they appointed procurators – on average, 16.2 % (sell land) as opposed to 25.4 % (appoint procurators) –, the main difference is to be found on the receiving side. On average, 8.2 % of the buyers were women while the corresponding number among the procuratorial parties was a mere 2.2 %.¹²⁹

In the next step, we shall examine Zadar's property market in more detail, enquiring about the geographical and social provenance of both selling and buying parties, the number of morgen sold, and the interrelationship between the property location and the prices.

As for the geographical provenance of the contracting parties, slightly less than nine out of ten vendors and buyers originated, little surprisingly, from within Jadertine jurisdiction. The origins of roughly ten percent could not be identified, the remaining slightly more than two

¹²⁷ As noted above, women's lives and their legally guaranteed rights to transfer real estate property in Venetian-controlled dominions was very limited. In addition, the marital status of women defined the degrees of their personal (and economic) freedoms and capabilities. See McKee, "Women under Venetian Colonial Rule," 41, and Grbavac, "Testamentary Bequests," 68–9, as well as the information provided above and below.

¹²⁸ For women's property rights according to the laws of Venice proper, see Guzzetti, *Venezianische Vermächtnisse*, 33–5, who provides a concise overview. Since most women's property involved dowry solutions, follow Chojnacki, "Dowries and Kinsmen," 575–77, Chojnacki, "Patrician Women," 178–85, and Owen Hughes, "Domestic Ideals," 116–8.

For a concise and up-to-date summary of scholarly research since the 1970s, follow Linda Guzzetti, "Testamentsforschung in Europa seit den 1970er Jahren: Bibliographischer Überblick," in *Seelenheil und irdischer Besitz: Testamente als Quellen für den Umgang mit 'den letzten Dingen'*, ed. Markwart Herzog and Cecilie Hollberg (Konstanz: UVK, 2007), 17–33, but see also Mary Fulbrook and Ulinka Rublack, "In Relation: The 'Social Self' and Ego-Documents," *German History* 28, no. 3 (2010): 263–72, and the literature review in Kaspar von Greyertz, "Ego-Documents: The Last Word?," *German History* 28, no. 3 (2010): 273–82.

For comparative studies, see Ellen E. Kittel, "Testaments of Two Cities: A Comparative Analysis of the Wills of Medieval Genoa and Douai," *European Review of History* 5 (1998): 59–61 (47–82), Guzzetti, *Venezianische Vermächtnisse*, 56–61, and Samuel K. Cohn, *Death and Property in Siena, 1205–1800: Strategies for the Afterlife* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1988).

¹²⁹ See the procuratorial analysis in part 2.

percent came from literally all over the Adriatic region.¹³⁰ Broken down further to include the various subdivisions subject to Zadar, six vendors out of these nine lived either within the city walls or its suburban settlements. Two out of these nine came from one of the islands off the coast, while the remaining areas – the medieval *ager publicus* or *astarea*, the districts of Nin, Novigrad, and Vrana as well as the rural parts subject to Jadertine jurisdiction – could be identified as to ‘sharing’ the other one vendor. The remaining vendor, as explained above, could not be identified.¹³¹

The percentage of the buying parties from within the Jadertine jurisdiction was even higher. On average, 90.9 % of all individuals acquiring real estate were from Zadar or from one its various subdivisions. This marginal increase over the selling parties corresponds with a small decrease in unidentified buyers, whose share decreased to 8.3 %. As with the vending parties, the rest – less than one percent – came from other places.¹³² Again, broken down into the above-mentioned subdivisions within Jadertine jurisdiction, seven out of these nine buyers came from within the city centre or its suburbs, the islanders made up one of the acquiring parties, explaining that shift in the origins of the purchasing parties. Another (virtual) buyer was to be divided between the various other subject entities within Zadar's hinterlands, the tenth acquiring party could not be identified.¹³³

As far as the social provenance of the contracting parties is concerned, the nobility (local or otherwise) made up 8.1 % of the vendors versus 11 % of the buyers. This tenth of the overall share corresponds more or less with what has been estimated as the nobility's size around

¹³⁰ The numbers are as follows: 88.2 % of all vendors could be identified as originating from within the Jadertine jurisdiction, 9.6 % could not be identified. Thus, the remaining 2.2 % of all selling parties came from Albania–Dalmatia, Croatia, Istria, Italy, and Venice. *Nota bene*: All percentages given are the average for the three decades, detailed tables and statistics are provided in the appendix.

¹³¹ The average percentages for all three decades are 60.5 % (Zadar, incl. its suburban dwellings), 17.1 % (Islands), 2.8 % (Astarea, excluding the suburbs), 3 % (districts of Nin/Nona and Ljubač/Gliube), 4 % (district of Novigrad/Novegradi, including the county of Posedarje/Possedaria), and 3.7 % (Contado, i.e. the ‘rest’ of the subject territories). See also the appendix for detailed maps, statistics, and tables.

¹³² The only number missing above is that of those from all other places around the Adriatic – and it was 0.8 %. The numbers given above are the averages for the three decades, see also the detailed maps, statistics, and tables are provided in the appendix.

¹³³ The average percentages for all three decades are 71 % (Zadar, suburbs), 10.9 % (Islands), 2.1 % (Astarea, excluding the suburban dwellings), 2.2 % (districts of Nin and Ljubač), 1 % (district of Novigrad, including the county of Posedarje), and 3.2 % (Contado, i.e. the ‘rest’ of the subject territories). See also the appendix for detailed maps, statistics, and tables. For the Italian names, see above (note 131).

Also, the overwhelming numbers for Zadar and its suburban dwellings are the consequences of 15th-century tendencies of cultivation of property close to the city walls as described by Tomislav Raukar. Not only did the majority of land owners live in the city but the labourers lived either in Zadar, too, or its suburbs. Raukar, *Zadar u XV. stoljeću*, 71–196.

the mid–sixteenth century.¹³⁴ The most interesting changes occur in the percentages of the buyers. Artisans, members of the Jadertine mercantile community, and members of the intelligence, on average, made up 12.5 % of all vendors¹³⁵, their corresponding share among the buyers was 30.6 %, a number more than twice as high as it is among the former.¹³⁶ While the artisans' share increased by 'only' slightly more than forty percent, the investments made by the other two groups, labelled merchants and intelligence, is even more dramatic. While the latter's share of real estate property more than quadrupled as opposed to their appearances as land vendors, the former's activities metaphorically went through the roof. Members of the mercantile community, on average, made up only 1.5 % of the individuals selling parcels of property all the while their investments in terms of bought land were almost ten times higher. Another interesting fact is that almost three quarters of all vendors were not members of any of the socio–functional groups.¹³⁷

Table 9.1: Land bought and sold, Overview (1540 to 1569)

	acreage/gonjaj ^a	acreage/m ²	acreage/hectares	ø acreage/gonjaj	ø acreage/m ²	ø acreage/hectares
1540s	1,542.4	3,681,459.3	368.1	4.4	10,428	1
1550s	1,412.5	3,347,151	334.7	4	9,480	0.9
1560s	2,955.3	7,023,644.5	702.4	8.2	19,434	1.9
	5,910.2	14,052,254.8	1,405.2	5.5	13,114	1.3

Sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JM (1545–1569), JMM (1540–1554), MAS (1544–1548), NC (1558–1567), ND (1540–1566), PB (1540–1569), PS (1545–1551), SB (1556–1565), SM (1555–1567). In all, 1,067 individual contracts were analysed.

Table 9.1 gives an overview over the surface area transferred in the real estate property transactions from 1 January, 1540, to 31 December, 1569. The three columns to the left give the total number of land transferred in gonjaj (morgen), square metres, and hectares; the three columns to the right give the average number of land transferred in gonjaj (morgen), square metres, and hectares. See also the appendix for more details.

(a) As given above, 1 gonjaj (gognai or morgen) equalled circa 2,370 square metres, Raukar, *Zadar u XV. stoljeću*, 298, and Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 759–60. See also the appendix for more details.

¹³⁴ These numbers are, again, the averages over the entire three decades, but see also the appendix for detailed maps, statistics, and tables.

The population data are by no means very exact as we lack reliable numbers before the mid–1520s, however, since the population of Zadar can be estimated to have amounted to 6,000 to 6,500 individuals around 1550 and the nobility comprised circa 600 persons, these numbers (sort of) add up. Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 261–2.

¹³⁵ The averages for the entire timespan under survey are 9.6 % (artisans), 1.5% (merchants), and 1.4 % (intelligence). See the appendix for detailed maps, statistics, and tables.

¹³⁶ Again, these averages are 13.7 % (artisans), 11.2 % (merchants), and 5.7 % (intelligence). See also the detailed maps, statistics, and tables are provided in the appendix.

¹³⁷ The averages, again over the entire period under investigation, are 72.7 % (vendors) versus 42.7 % (buyers), for detailed maps, statistics, and tables, see the appendix.

Contrary to their corresponding share among the selling parties, members of these categories made up more than half of the buying parties. Hence, while the property market remained more or less stable in terms of the total number of contracts, the elites dominated it by virtue of their purchasing possibilities. Let us now turn to the transferred items, the parcels of land sold and bought between 1 January, 1540, and 31 December, 1569, within Jadertine jurisdiction.

As table 9.1 above clearly shows, two facts are immediately recognisable. First, the total number of contracts stipulated per decade remained more or less constant – correspondingly little differences between the first two decades of the timespan under survey are the discernible. The total acreage transferred from vendors to buyers slightly decreased from circa 368 hectares sold between 1540 and 1549 to circa 335 hectares between 1550 and 1559. Second, the last decade under survey was very different from the two preceding decennia. The total acreage sold during the years from 1560 to 1569 effectively doubled while, as shown above in table 9, the total number of individual contracts remained constant. This development exerted a considerable amount of pressure on the (average) prices, most likely resulting in significant price volatility, which we shall now investigate.¹³⁸

As table 9.2 clearly shows, average prices did not drop uniformly, so let us now investigate the reasons and rationales behind it. First, the Contado. While it is true that increased insecurity in the rural areas under Jadertine jurisdiction contributed, probably significantly, to the falling prices, this is clearly not the sole cause. As demonstrated above, the total acreage transferred in the Contado increased by more than fifteen times from the 1540s to the 1560s, putting enormous pressure on the average prices. It may very well be that marauding bands of plunderers from the Ottoman side of the border contributed to this decline in prices, but this cannot have been the only reason, especially if we consider the other data provided.

¹³⁸ For a variety of reasons, mostly with respect to readability, only selected samples of the results are provided in this chapter, for the detailed maps, statistics, and tables, see the appendix.

Table 9.2: Average land prices, Contado – Astarea – Islands (1540 to 1569)

	Contado ^a land sold	average price per gonjaj	Astarea ^b land sold	average price per gonjaj	Islands ^c land sold	average price per gonjaj
1540s	70.4	3.1 ducats	368.1	4.9 ducats	172.9	5.5 ducats
1550s	218	2.3 ducats	334.7	6.6 ducats	202.8	4 ducats
1560s	1,079.3	1.8 ducats	702.4	10.1 ducats	298.1	5.5 ducats
	1,367.7	2.4 ducats	1,405.2	7.2 ducats	673.8	5 ducats

Sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JM (1545–1569), JMM (1540–1554), MAS (1544–1548), NC (1558–1567), ND (1540–1566), PB (1540–1569), PS (1545–1551), SB (1556–1565), SM (1555–1567). In all, 1,067 individual contracts were analysed.

Table 9.2 shows the development of average prices from 1 January, 1540, to 31 December, 1569, in three subdivisions of Zadar's jurisdiction based upon the map of Zadar's jurisdiction in Raukar, *Zadar u XV. stoljeću*, 46: Contado, Astarea, and the islands. The bottom line gives the three-decade averages and, as above, 1 gonjaj equalled circa 2,370 square metres, Raukar, *Zadar u XV. stoljeću*, 298, and Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 759–60. All locations below were found in the sources, are referred to with their present toponyms and, where-ever possible, the corresponding Italian toponyms of the then-Venetian possessions are given in brackets. See also the appendix for more details.

- (a) Contado refers to a number of places on the mainland excluding places within the smaller districts of Ljubač/Gliuba (Gliube), Nin/Nona (Nona), Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado), and Vrana/Aurana (Vrana). The data in the Contado column is based upon 90 individual contracts (16 in the 1540s, 26 in the 1550s, and 48 in the 1560s) and provides the total number of in gonjaj sold; the named villages are: Blato/Blato (Blato), Briševo/Brissevo (Briseuo), Drenovac/Drinovazzo (Drinovazzo), Gorica/Gorizza (Goriza), Grobnica/Grommizza (Gromniza), Grusi/Grue (Grusi), Kamenjani (Chamegnani), Kotopaščina (Cottopaschina), Kožino/Càproli, Còsino (Cosinoselo), Miljačka/Migliazza (Migliacza), Murvica/Murvizza (Murvizza), Petrčane/Porto Schiavina (Peterzane), Podi/Podi (Podi), Račice/Racice (Racice), Ražanac/Rasanze (Rasance), Rogovo/Rogovo (Rogovo), Sukošan/Porto d'Oro, San Cassiano (Sancti Cassiani), Sv Filip i Jakov/Santi Filippo e Giacomo (Sancti Filippi et Jacobi), Tršci (Tersci), Turanj/Torretta, Turretta (Turretta), Veterinici/Veterinici (Veterinichi), Zemunik/Zemonico (Zemonico), Zlovšane (Slouhsane).
- (b) Astareja/Astarea (districtus) refers to the territory of the medieval ager publicus, an entity comprising roughly the built-up area of present-day Zadar, excluding the burgus or suburbs/borgo (suburban settlements). The data in the Astarea column is based upon 495 individual contracts (171 in the 1540s, 186 in the 1550s, 138 in the 1560s) and provides the total number of in gonjaj sold; the named villages are: Bibinje/Bibigne (Bibigne), Bili Brig/Belvedere (Belvederium), Bokanjac/Bocagnazzo (Bocagnazzo), Brodarica/Valdimastro–Cabrana (in valle magistra), Crno/Cerno (Cerno), Crvene Kuće/Caserosse (Drassaniza), Diklo/Diclo (Diclo), Gaženica/Porto Nuovo (Gasenica), Gladuša/Gladussa (Gladussa), Klikor (Chlichor), Kolovare/Colovare (Colovare), Lazareto/Lazaretto (lazarettum), Paprad (Paprad), Ponton (Pontone), Puntamika/Punt'Amica (Puntamica), Smiljevac/Pozzaio (Smigliavaz), Višnjik/San Giovanni (ad Sanctum Joannem), Voštarnica/Ceraria–Barcagno (ultra barchaneum), and Zerodo (Cerodolo, between Bokanjac and Diklo).
- (c) Islands refers to a number of places on the inhabited islands off Zadar's coast but under its jurisdiction. The data in the Islands column is based upon 256 individual contracts (93 in the 1540s, 62 in the 1550s, and 101 in the 1560s) and provides the total number of in gonjaj sold; the named islands, places, and villages are: Dugi Otok/Isola Lunga or Grossa: Brbinj/Berbigno (Bebigne), Rat Veli/Punte Bianche (Punta Bianca), Sale/Sali (Sale), Savar/Sauro (Sauro), and Zaglav/Zaglava (Zaglava); Pašman/Pasmano (Pasmano): Banj/Bagno di Pasmano (Bagno), Dobropoljana/Dobrapogliana (Dobrapogliana), Nevidane/Neviane or Novigiano (Neviane), Pašman/Pasmano (Pasmano), Punta Pašman/Punta Pasmano (Puncta di Pasmano), Tkon/Tuconio (Tchoni), Ždrelac/Sdrela or Stagno di Pasmano (Sdrelaz); Ugljan/Ugliano (Ugliano): Činta/Cinta (Chinta), Kali/Mul or Cale (Calle), Kukljica/Camera, Cucchizza, or Cucizza (Chuchgliza), Lukoran/Lucorano (Lucorano), Preko/Oltre (Oltre), Sutomišćica/Sant'Eufemia (Sancte Euphemie), Sušica/Sussizza (Sussizza), and Ugljan/Ugliano (Ugliano); And the four minor islands of Iž/Eso (Eso, Exo), Rava/Rava (Raua), Silba/Selve (Silba), and Vrgada/Vergada (Vergata).

Second, the medieval ager publicus or Astarea (Astareja). The trend of increased property transactions is also mirrored here, however, there are some significant structural differences at play, too. While the general assumption of a constant (or stagnant) real estate market during

the 1540s and 1550s holds true, the factor by which the total acreage increased is in no way as high as in the Contado. Still, the amount of gonjaj sold increased by roughly ninety percent during the 1560s compared to the two prior decades. One may consider a doubling in the amount of land sold exerting downward pressure on the prices but – as the numbers clearly show – average prices for a morgen of land within the line of sight of Zadar more than doubled, keeping in step with the acreage transferred. This is even more remarkable if one considers the value of a ducat which, at the fixed exchange rate of 6 libras and 4 solidi, kept its relative value. Clearly, this development was not driven by market forces alone.¹³⁹

Third, the islands off the coasts. This category is perhaps the most telling of all as the total numbers of contracts involving the transaction of a parcel of land on one (or more) of the islands remained more or less constant over the entire period under investigation. Also, the total acreage sold increased less than in the two other examples given above, ‘only’ by a factor of circa 170 %. What is much more interesting, though, is the fact that, on average, prices for a gonjaj of land on the islands remained, for all practical purposes, stable at the value of 5.5 ducats per morgen notwithstanding the changes in the over-all contract numbers per decade and the other changes considered above.

In all, the total number of ducats transferred via real estate sales amounted to 20,528.9 ducats, and, corresponding to the doubling in acreage sold during the 1560s, this is reflected in the respective sums. During the 1540s, the transaction volume accounted to 5,071.8 ducats, the 1550s witnessed a modest increase as this sum totalled 6,105.6 ducats. In the final decade of the period under survey, the 1560s, that amount of money was 9,351.5 ducats, almost doubling over the first decade and (roughly) keeping in line with the numbers discussed above.¹⁴⁰

On a final note – what about the location of stipulation of these contracts? Usually, one might assume that the notaries’ regular working place, the communal loggia, was the first and most important place to conduct any business requiring notarial verification. However, de-

¹³⁹ A comparable similar trend occurred within the district of Nin: The average prices for a gonjaj of land increased from 1.2 ducats during the 1540s to 1.7 ducats during the 1560s, another price hike by almost fifty percent. This is especially remarkable as there were 33 contracts transferring 552.3 gonjaj (roughly 130.9 hectares) of land in the first decade, sold for a total of 640.7 ducats as opposed to 18 contracts transferring 366 gonjaj (roughly 86.7 hectares) of land during the last decade, sold for a total of 621.6 ducats. The total amount of money remained more or less the same while the number of property transactions as well as the number of morgen transferred decreased – interestingly by roughly the same factor as the price went up. See also the appendix for detailed maps, statistics, and tables.

¹⁴⁰ The decimals were caused by the conversion of prices denominated in ducats and/or libras via the fixed exchange rate of 1 ducat = 6 libras 4 solidi. For instance, 1 libra = 20 solidi, thus 1 ducat = 124 solidi, which turns 24 ducats = 2,976 solidi = 148.8 libras. Conversely, 150 libras = 3,000 solidi = 24.2 ducats. In any event, an overview of the monetary denominations is provided in the appendix.

tailed analysis of the 1,067 contracts presents a different picture. While the communal square was noted as the location of stipulation in slightly more than one third of all cases, in addition, circa fifteen percent of all contracts were written in an *apotheca* (business/storage facility), usually located at or next to the communal main square.¹⁴¹ Another large share of instruments, slightly more than a quarter of all contracts, was stipulated in the private houses of one of the involved parties.¹⁴² Another 13.5 % of all instruments were written in one of Zadar's chancelleries¹⁴³, slightly less than three percent were stipulated on ecclesiastical property.¹⁴⁴ The remaining contracts were written in a variety of locations, ranging from places in the suburbs¹⁴⁵ to a ship in Zadar's port¹⁴⁶ to places as seemingly unlikely as on top of the city's gates.¹⁴⁷

Concluding, it is clear that the vending market was not entirely dependent on the elites' purchasing abilities. This is founded on the fact that while three out of four vendors were not a member of any of the elite groups, the latter's percentage as regards the buyers was only slightly higher than fifty percent. What also stands out is the fact that the mercantile community did invest a considerable amount of money in real estate, probably, as Fernand Braudel suggested¹⁴⁸, due to its perceived investment security – as did other parts of the elites, too. Furthermore, it is evident that the volume – i.e. the number of transferred *morgen* as well as the amount of ducats – of the real estate market almost doubled from the 1540s to the 1560s. This is reinforced by a variety of indicators, most prominently the acreage sold and subse-

¹⁴¹ The communal (main) square as category includes given locations as in *platea communis*, *sub logia communis*, *ad bancum iuris ex opposito logiae communis*, and the various descriptions of the *apothecae*, i.e. *ad/in/penes plateam (communis)*. In all the numbers are 34.9 % (*platea communis*) and 14.4 % (in *apotheca*), totalling at 49.3 %, slightly less than half of all instruments stipulated at or near the main square. Again, see part 4 as well as the appendix for detailed maps, statistics, and tables.

¹⁴² This could mean the lodging of one of the two contracting parties, the house of one of the witnesses or of the communal official whose presence was required, i.e. one of the count's councillors or a communal judge examiner. In all, 27 % of all contracts were stipulated in *domo*, *ad ianuas portas*, or in *camera domus*.

¹⁴³ Zadar had three chancelleries (and a respective number of chancellors), these were the *cancellaria communis*, *cancellaria ad criminalium*, and the *cancellaria comitis*.

¹⁴⁴ This refers to all instruments written in churches, monasteries, and, in a couple of cases, cemeteries, their percentage is 2.8 %.

¹⁴⁵ One example thereof states that the contract was written "*extra Suburbem Jadrensis penes domum capitanei Suburbii*". In it, "*magister Franciscus Nunchouich*", a master-furrier/peltmonger, citizen, and resident of Zadar, sold a parcel of land to "*Joanni Voychouich, ligonizatori*" (day labourer) and resident of Zadar. Cf. PB I, 1, 9, f39v, stipulated on 2 March, 1543.

¹⁴⁶ This happened once when "*meser Paulo Begna*", stipulating for himself and on behalf of his absent brother, "*meser Simone*", sold one *gonjaj* (roughly 2,370 square metres) to "*Barichio Mandich de Melada*" (Molat or Melada), a priest, for the price of 25 *libras parvorum*. The contract itself was written "*in una barca fuori del porto*." Cf. CC I, 1, 2, f22r, stipulated on 18 October, 1568.

¹⁴⁷ Another example of the flexibility of the location of stipulation was when "*Catherina filia quondam Maruli de Sale, et uxor quondam Joannis Plauocameich alias Marcouich cognominato Xuvina de valle Sancti Stephani*" sold a *morgen* of land to "*Martino Chissauich de dicta valle Sancti Stephanj*". The property was located near that village, too, and changed hands for the sum of 35 *libras parvorum*, the contract itself was written "*apud portas terre firme*." Cf. JMM I, 2, 1, f16r, stipulated on 30 July, 1540.

¹⁴⁸ Braudel, *Der Alltag*, 51.

quently bought as well as the monetary implications. While both the number of contracts involving parcels of land within the line of sight of Zadar and their respective average prices doubled over the three decades, those areas not as affected by interior (increased demand for property in the *ager publicus*) and/or exterior (rising insecurity and banditry) factors did not experience such volatile prices. This is best evidenced by the stable prices for a morgen of land on one of the islands within the Jadertine jurisdiction.

6.2. *Concessionones sive Pastinationes*

Another important part of the local property market revolved around land grants, the so-called *concessionones ad plantandum*. In it, the landlord conceded the rights to cultivate, plant, and harvest parts of his possessions in accordance with common law¹⁴⁹ to a single individual or a group of individuals in exchange for a fixed part of the harvest. Furthermore, these contracts usually included various additional clauses as to *honorantias* (special gifts)¹⁵⁰ to the landlord, the date(s) at which the duties (and the special gifts, too) were to be delivered, and what happened in case of natural disasters or an Ottoman incursion.¹⁵¹

Table 10: Concessions Market, Overview (1540 to 1569)

	no. of acts ^a	% of total ^b	Latin ^c	'Italian' ^d	♀ landlords ^e	♀ tenants ^f
1540s	118	24.7 %	118	—	13	2
1550s	171	35.8 %	171	—	13	4
1560s	189	39.5 %	183	6	9	1
	478	100 %	472	6	35	7

Sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JM (1545–1569), JMM (1540–1554), MAS (1544–1548), NC (1558–1567), ND (1540–1566), PB (1540–1569), PS (1545–1551), SB (1556–1565), SM (1555–1567). In all, 478 individual contracts were analysed.

- (a) Lists the over-all numbers of concessions contracts written between 1 January, 1540, to 31 December, 1569.
- (b) Lists the share of the single decades relative to the over-all number in the respective decades.
- (c) Lists the over-all number of individual instruments written in Latin, the bottom line gives the total.
- (d) Lists the over-all number of individual instruments written in the Venetian variant of the 'Italian' language, the bottom line gives the total number of notarial acts written in this language.
- (e) This gives the over-all numbers of female constituent parties for each of the three decades if women were the only constituent party and/or additions like *mulier sui iuris* were given, the bottom line gives the total.
- (f) Same as (e) above but counting the acquiring parties.

¹⁴⁹ Follow the Jadertine statutes, Lib. III, tit. XVI: "De locatione et conductione omnium rerum stabilium, mobilium et se moventium et operarum omnium personarum," containing 19 sub-chapters, and Lib. III, tit. XVII, "De iure emphiteotico seu de iure quod acquiritur danti et recipienti possessiones aliquas pastinandum," containing 7 sub-chapters. Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 310–32.

¹⁵⁰ Usually, these included small livestock such as piglets, chicken, rooster, or young lambs which had to be consigned to the landlord at Christmas, Carnival (*carnis privum*), and/or Easter or any other date specified by the land-owner. Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 231, Perić, "Prilog poznavanju agrarnih odnosa," 153.

¹⁵¹ An exemplary transcription of such a contract is provided in the appendix.

The first set of numbers gives an overview of the size of the market over the three decades with the following aspects standing out. First, while an increase in the over-all number of contracts from the 1540s to the 1560s is visible, this prompted a rise in concessions of ‘only’ 55 % (as opposed to the doubling in the real estate sales market). Second, the number of female stipulating parties was slightly more than a tenth in the 1540s and declined significantly over the ensuing decades, leading to the conclusion that property was increasingly owned and/or administered by men. Furthermore, almost all work on the fields was carried out by men, as evidenced by the low percentage of contracting women. In the next step, both geographical origins and social provenance of the landowners take to the centre of the stage.

Table 10.1: Constituent Land-owning Parties, Overview (1540 to 1569)

	nobles ^a	clergy ^b	artisans ^c	soldiers ^d	traders ^e	intell. ^f	rest ^g
1540s	33 (♀ 2)	33 (7)	13	4	11	5 (3)	19
1550s	72 (♀ 5)	57 (15)	5	5 (2)	10	12 (4)	11
1560s	94 (♀ 5)	44 (11)	8	11 (9)	2	13 (7)	17
	198 (♀ 12)	134 (33)	28	20 (11)	23	30 (14)	47

Sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JM (1545–1569), JMM (1540–1554), MAS (1544–1548), NC (1558–1567), ND (1540–1566), PB (1540–1569), PS (1545–1551), SB (1556–1565), SM (1555–1567). In all, 478 individual contracts were analysed.

Table 10.1 shows the over-all numbers of the constituent parties of the concessions instruments as regards their social (nobles, clergy, artisans) as well as functional (soldiers, traders, intelligence) provenance from 1 January, 1540, to 31 December, 1569. All percentages are given with respect to the over-all percentages. All toponyms given below were found in the sources. All locations below were found in the sources, are referred to with their present toponyms and, where-ever possible, the corresponding Italian toponyms of the then-Venetian possessions are given in brackets. See also the appendix for more details.

- Nobles refers to the social group of all constituent parties of noble Jadertine descent including both landowners and conductores (renting out an already leased patch of land to a third party). The numbers given are the over-all numbers of individuals of noble descent and the corresponding number in brackets is the number of women among those (in case only women were the constituent party, in all other cases, women were counted in the over-all figure. The bottom line gives the combined three-decade number.
- Clergy refers to those individuals and institutions (e.g. a convent or a church) assumed to have belonged to the ecclesiastical parts of society, including both landowners and conductores. The numbers given are the over-all numbers of individuals and/or institutions the corresponding number in brackets is the number of individuals of noble descent among those. The bottom line gives the combined three-decade number.
- Artisans refers to all craftsmen as defined by their title magister (master) and/or handcraft description. The bottom line gives the combined three-decade number.
- Soldiers refers to all military personnel irrespective of their social, geographical, and rank-related provenance. The numbers given are the over-all numbers of individuals and the corresponding number in brackets is the number of individuals of noble descent among those. The bottom line gives the combined three-decade number.
- Traders refers to the number of individuals engaged in commerce as defined by their job descriptions aromatarius (spice trader), bazariotus (small retailer), and mercator (merchant). The numbers given are the over-all numbers of individuals. The bottom line gives the combined three-decade number.
- Intell. refers to the percentage of all individuals assumed to have been literate who, for practical purposes, have been put into the category ‘intelligence.’ The numbers given are the over-all numbers of individuals and the corresponding number in brackets is the number of individuals of noble descent among those. The bottom line gives the combined three-decade number.
- Rest refers to the percentage and corresponding number in brackets of all individuals and/or groups of individuals not mentioned above.

As table 10.1 shows, the two upper social strata, on average, made up almost 70 % of all conceding parties. Roughly speaking, four out of ten land-owners were of noble descent and three out of them were members of the clergy. Interestingly, both nobles and clergy start in the 1540s owning equal shares of the conceded lands, a fact subject to significant change over the three ensuing decades. By the 1560s, the nobility conceded land more than twice as often than members of the clergy. As regards the latter, it must be stressed that the category clergy includes both physical structures such as churches, hospitals, and monasteries as well as individuals. As shown above, the priests, canons, and clerics usually made up slightly less than a quarter of all ecclesiastical land-owners. Consequently, it is worth noting that Church-related structures required a legal person to represent them – and here the connection between the property market and the procuratorial instruments analysed before becomes visible again. In cases involving a church, hospital, or convent, one (or more) individuals belonging to the institution in question and/or a procurator was present.¹⁵² In the general context of the concessions market, the percentage of land-owners appearing only via a legal representative was slightly lower than fifty percent.¹⁵³

Most conceded land was in the hands of both nobility and clergy, a fact reinforced by the geographical provenance of the conceding parties. Similar to the comparable percentages of the vendors above, nine out of ten land-owners resided in Zadar proper, all other provenances combined made up the rest.¹⁵⁴ Most other socio-functional groups did not play too much a role in this section of the property market.¹⁵⁵

This holds especially true if one takes the labouring parties into consideration. The nobility and the clergy were, expectedly, almost non-existent in these terms and the craftsmen were represented only in a small part of the over-all share (5.9 %), about as small as in the land-owning category. All other socio-functional groups more or less mirror the aristocracy's and

¹⁵² See the procuratorial analysis in part 2 as well as the appendix.

¹⁵³ The average percentage for all three decades was 47.5 %, however, it is necessary to bear in mind that in many cases the land conceded to one or more labourers was jointly possessed. Thus the statement above comes with the following caveat: If, for instance, a patch of land was owned by two (or more) individuals, usually only one of them was present. Under these circumstances, the document duly noted that the person present also had the authority of stipulating for the absentee. See also the appendix for detailed maps, statistics, and tables.

¹⁵⁴ In percentages, this meant that 90 % of all conceding parties were identified to have resided or somehow otherwise connected with Zadar proper and its suburban dwellings. All other places – the remaining 10 % – included the subdivisions of the Jadertine jurisdiction (the Astarea, the islands, the districts of Nin/Nona and Novigrad/Novegradi as well as the rest of the rural hinterlands) as well as six individuals from Krk (Cherso), Trogir (Traù), and Venice.

¹⁵⁵ See also the appendix for detailed maps, statistics, and tables.

the Church's appearance. The social provenance is even represented in the geographical distribution, as the following table details:

Table 10.2: Geographical Provenances, Tenants (1540 to 1569)

	Zadar, suburbs ^a	Astarea ^b	Contado ^c	Nin ^d	Novigrad ^e	Islands ^f	n/a, rest ^g
1540s	83 (28)	5	2	10	2	8	8
1550s	81 (25)	11	24	3	2	23	27
1560s	88 (38)	10	27	6	5	15	38
	252 (91)	26	53	19	9	46	73

Sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JM (1545–1569), JMM (1540–1554), MAS (1544–1548), NC (1558–1567), ND (1540–1566), PB (1540–1569), PS (1545–1551), SB (1556–1565), SM (1555–1567). In all, 478 individual contracts were analysed.

Table 10.2 shows the origins and geographical provenance of the tenants as referred to in the concessions contracts stipulated between 1 January, 1540, and 31 December, 1569. All toponyms given below were found in the sources, the names assigned to the columns above are based upon the map of Zadar's jurisdiction in Raukar, *Zadar u XV. stoljeću*, 46, and Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 223. All locations below were found in the sources, see also the appendix for more details.

- Zadar, suburbs gives the number the provenances of tenants living within the city walls and/or its suburban dwellings. The numbers given are the total numbers for both categories with the number of tenants living in the suburbs in brackets. The bottom line gives the combined three-decade numbers.
- Astarea refers to the territory of the medieval ager publicus, an entity comprising roughly the present-day built-up area of Zadar, excluding the burgus/suburbs/borgo (suburban settlements). The named places are Bibinje/Bibigne (Bibigne), Bokanjac/Bocagnazzo (Bocagnazzo), Crno/Cerno (Cerno), Diklo/Diclo (Diclo), Gaženica/Porto Nuovo (Gasenica), Puntamika/Punt'Amica (Puntamica), and Voštarnica/Ceraria-Barcagno (ultra barchaneum).
- Contado refers to a number of places in Zadar's hinterlands excluding all places within the minor districts of Nin/Nona (Nona), Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado), and Vrana/Aurana (Vrana). The named villages are Artikovo (Articovo), Biograd na moru/Zaravecchia (Zaretum vetus), Brda/Berdo (Berda), Briševo/Brissevo (Briseuo), Crnogoriščina (Cernogerschina), Galovac/Galovazzo (Galovaz), Grusi/Grue (Gruse), Jelsa/Gelsa (Jelsa), Kamenjani (Chamegnane), Kotopaščina (Cottopaschina), Kožino/Càproli, Còsino (Cosinoselo), Miljačka/Migliazza (Migliacza), Mokro/Mocro (Mocro), Murvica/Murvizza (Murvizza), Petrčane/Porto Schiavina (Peterzane), Podi/Podi (Podi), Polišane/Polissane (Polisane), Račice/Racice (Racice), Ražanac/Rasanze (Rasance), Starošane (Starossane), Suhovare (Suovare), Sukošan/Porto d'Oro, San Cassiano (Sancti Cassiani), Sv Filip i Jakov/Santi Filippo e Giacomo (Sancti Filippi et Jacobi), Tršci (Tersci), Turanj/Torretta, Turretta (Turretta), Varikašane/Varicassane (Varichassane).
- Nin refers to its eponymous jurisdiction, the Ninski distrikt (district of Nin/Nona), the named villages are Brišane/Brissane (Brisane), Čerinci (Cerinci), Nin/Nona (Nona), Podvršje, Vrši/Verchè (Podverie), Privlaka/Brevilacqua (Bevilaqua), and Zaton/Zaton (Zaton).
- Novigrad refers to places in its eponymous jurisdiction, the Novigradski distrikt (district of Novigrad/Novegradi). The named villages are Rupalj, Koruplje (Corpuaglie), Režane/Reggiane (Regiane), Slivnica/Slivnizza (Sliuniza), Trščane (Terschiane), and Zavod (Zavod).
- Islands refers to a number of places on the inhabited islands off Zadar's coast but under its jurisdiction. The data in the Islands column is based upon 256 individual contracts (93 from the 1540s, 62 from the 1550s, and 101 from the 1560s) out of the total of 1,067 instruments. The named islands, places, and villages are: Dugi Otok/Isola Grossa, Lunga: Rat Veli/Punte Bianche (Punta Bianca) and Sale/Sali (Sale); Pašman/Pasmano (Pasmano): Banj/Bagno di Pasmano (Bagno), Dobropoljana/Dobrapoglian (Dobrapogliana), Pašman/Pasmano (Pasmano), Punta Pašman/Punta Pasmano (Puncta di Pasmano), and Tkon/Tucconio (Tchoni); Ugljan/Ugliano (Ugliano): Kukljica/Camera, Cucchizza, or Cuclizza (Chuchgliza), Lukoran/Lucorano (Luco-rano), and Ugljan/Ugliano (Ugliano); and the minor islands Iz/Eso (Eso, Exo), Molat/Melada (Melada), and Rava/Rava (Raua).
- n/a, rest refers to all unidentified or other places referenced in the sources, including 2 instances in which places within the Vranski distrikt (Pakoštane/Porto Schiavine and Tinj/Tino (Tinj) as well as Murter/Mortèr, Krk/Veglia, Castro Novo (probably Herceg novi/Castronuovo), Raico/Rainu/Raiuo, Poscagliana, Vegliana, and Zahum.

One of the most interesting aspects is that, as time progressed, less land was conceded to labourers from within Zadar proper and its suburban settlement. Consequently, the number of tenants originating from elsewhere in the vicinity increased. Most likely, this was the result of the cumulative effects of the truce between Venice and the Ottoman Empire as well as the resulting re-location of parts of the hinterland's population who, having sought refuge within Zadar's city walls during the fighting, went back to their hamlets and villages in the countryside after the conclusion of the war of 1537/41. One more aspect stands out and that is the threefold increase in the 'n/a, rest' column. This is, in part, due to the fact that the number of unidentifiable toponyms more than quadrupled from the 1540s to the 1560s. Another contributing factor were the efforts of the Venetian provincial governors to re-populate the hinterlands with colonists from elsewhere.¹⁵⁶ These endeavours changed not only the social fabric of the Contado's hinterlands but also contributed to the rise in unidentifiable toponyms, as evidenced, for instance, by the origin of "Radichio Muhich de Zahum" (presumably from the Zahumlje region in present-day Herzegovina).¹⁵⁷

Looking at table 10.3, two things stand out very clear: First, if the doubling of the total acreage in terms of sold land seemed a lot, the conceded surface area increased more than six-fold from the 1540s to the 1560s. Table 10.3 gives additional data, for instance, the average number of conceded morgen and their equivalent in hectares. Second, the trend of the percentage of real estate located in the medieval ager publicus (Astarea or Astareja) decreased over the entire timespan. This seemingly structural issue holds true for the vending market as well as for the land concessions even beyond the decades under survey in the present study.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ During the tenure of Alvise Badoer (see below), the Venetians attempted to re-settle the all but abandoned Jadertine jurisdiction on the mainland with Morlachs from Istria, temporarily reaching "circa 1,000 fochi" during the first half of the 16th century. Venice's policy to pressgang those new inhabitants made them cross the borders to the Ottoman side in order to escape galley service, rendering the Venetians's attempts void, as wrote Pauli Justiniano, former captain of Zadar in his report to the Senate in February of 1553. Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 3, 51–2.

Alvise Badoer was appointed "provveditor generale in Dalmazia" in 1538 "con sede fissa a Zara", but was called back to Venice in 1539 and subsequently sent to Constantinople/Istanbul to negotiate Venice's separate peace treaty with the Sublime Porte in 1540, evidenced by his report on these negotiations, dated 8 October, 1540. Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 136–44.

¹⁵⁷ It must be noted that the reference to Zahum is a singular affair in the contracts, however, in most cases there was simply no and/or no identifiable origin given in the contracts. For the reference to Radichius, cf. SB I, 1, 3, f141r, stipulated on 31 July, 1558.

¹⁵⁸ As was found out to hold true for the 17th century as well. Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 229–30, as well as Perić, "Prilog poznavanju agrarnih odnosa," 139.

Table 10.3: Conceded Property, Overview (1540 to 1569)

	acreage in gonjaj ^a	ø acreage in gonjaj ^b	ø acreage in hectares ^c	Astarea ^d	Contado ^e	Islands ^f	Nin ^g	n/a, rest ^h
1540s	558.5	4.7	1.1	81	3	8	11	14
1550s	3,563.8	18.8	4.5	84	38	25	5	19
1560s	2,018.5	11.8	2.8	90	43	18	11	27
	6,140.8	12.8	3	255	85	51	27	60

Sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JM (1545–1569), JMM (1540–1554), MAS (1544–1548), NC (1558–1567), ND (1540–1566), PB (1540–1569), PS (1545–1551), SB (1556–1565), SM (1555–1567). In all, 478 individual contracts were analysed.

Table 10.3 shows the development of the amount of property conceded from 1 January, 1540, to 31 December, 1569, for a number of specified sub-divisions of Zadar's jurisdiction based upon the map of Zadar's jurisdiction in Raukar, *Zadar u XV. stoljeću*, 46. All toponyms given below were found in the sources, the names assigned to the columns above are based upon the map of Zadar's jurisdiction in Raukar, *Zadar u XV. stoljeću*, 46, and, where-ever possible, the Italian toponyms are given in brackets. All locations below were found in the sources, are referred to with their present toponyms and, where-ever possible, the corresponding Italian toponyms of the then-Venetian possessions are given in brackets. See also the appendix for more details.

- (a) This column gives the total number of gonjaj conceded for each of the three decades as well as the total number for the entire timespan combined in the bottom line. If converted to hectares, the numbers would be 132.4 hectares (1540s, based on 118 individual instruments), 843.5 hectares (1550s, based on 189 individual instruments), and 478.4 hectares (1560s, based on 171 individual instruments). 1 gonjaj equalled circa 2,370 square metres, Raukar, *Zadar u XV. stoljeću*, 298, and Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 759–60
- (b) This column gives the average number of gonjaj or morgen conceded per contract, the bottom line gives the three-decade average.
- (c) This column gives the average number of gonjaj or morgen converted into hectares conceded per contract, the bottom line gives the three-decade average.
- (d) Astareja/Astarea (districtus) refers to the territory of the medieval ager publicus, an entity comprising roughly the built-up area of present-day Zadar, excluding the burgus/suburbs/borgo (suburban settlements). The data is based upon 255 individual contracts (81 in the 1540s, 84 in the 1550s, and 90 in the 1560s) and provides the total numbers of individual contracts. The named places are Bibinje/Bibigne (Bibigne), Bili Brig/Belvedere (Belvederium), Bokanjac/Boccagnazzo (Bocagnazzo), Brodarica/Valdimastro–Cabrona (in valle magistra), Crno/Cerno (Cerno), Crvene Kuće/Caserosse (Drassaniza), Diklo/Diclo (Diclo), Gaženica/Porto Nuovo (Gasenica), Kolovare/Colovare (Colovare), Koprani (Coprani), Lazareto/Lazaretto (lazaretum), Ponton (Pontone), Puntamika/Punt'Amica (Puntamica), Ražacon (Racanzoni), Smiljevac/Pozzaio (Smiglievac), Višnjik/San Giovanni (ad Sanctum Joannem), Voštarnica/Ceraria–Barcagno (ultra barchaneum), and Zerodo (Cerodolo, between Bokanjac and Diklo).
- (e) Contado refers to a number of places on the mainland, again, as above, excluding all places within the minor districts of Ljubač/Gliuba (Gliube), Nin/Nona (Nona), Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado), and Vrana/Aurana (Vrana). The data is based upon 85 individual contracts (4 in the 1540s, 38 in the 1550s, and 43 in the 1560s) and provides the total numbers of individual contracts. The named villages are Artikovo (Articovo), Biograd na moru/Zaravecchia (Zaretum vetus), Brda/Berdo (Berda), Briševo/Brissevo (Briseuo), Divni (Divini), Grusi/Grue (Grusi), Kamenjani (Chamegnane), Kožino/Càproli, Còsino (Cosinoselo), Miljačka/Migliazza (Migliacza), Mokro/Mocro (Mocro), Murvica/Murvizza (Murvizza), Petrčane/Porto Schiavina (Peterzane), Podi/Podi (Podi), Polišane/Polissane (Polisane), Poričane (Porizane), Račice/Racice (Racice), Rogovo/Rogovo (Rogovo), Sikovo/Sicovo (Sicouo), Skril/Scrile (Scrile), Smoković/Smòcovich (Smochovich), Starošane (Starossane), Sukošan/Porto d'Oro, San Cassiano (Sancti Cassiani), Sv Filip i Jakov/Santi Filippo e Giacomo (Sancti Filippi et Jacobi), Tršci (Tersci), Turanj/Torretta, Turretta (Turretta), Uškipah (Ushipac), Veterinići/Veterinici (Veterinichi), and Visočane/Visozzane (Visozane).
- (f) Islands refers to a number of places on the inhabited islands off Zadar's coast but under its jurisdiction. The data is based upon 51 individual contracts (8 in the 1540s, 18 in the 1550s, and 25 in the 1560s) and provides the total numbers of individual contracts. The named islands and places are:
 Dugi Otok/Isola Grossa or Lunga: Rat Veli/Punte Bianche (Punta Bianca) and Sale/Sali (Sale).
 Pašman/Pasmano (Pasmano): Banj/Bagno di Pasmano (Bagno), Dobropoljana/Dobrapogliana (Dobrapogliana), Pašman/Pasmano (Pasmano), Punta Pašman/Punta Pasmano (Puncta di Pasmano), and Ždrelac/Sdrela or Stagno di Pasmano (Sdrelaz);
 Ugljan/Ugliano (Ugliano): Kukljica/Camera, Cucchizza, or Cuclizza (Chuchgliza), Lukoran/Lucorano (Luco-rano), Preko/Oltre (Oltre), Sutomišćica/Sant'Eufemia (Sancte Euphemie), Sušica/Sussizza (Sussizza), and Ugljan/Ugliano (Ugliano)
 And the two minor islands of Iž/Eso (Eso/Exo) and Rava/Rava (Raua).

- (g) Nin refers to a number of places on the inhabited islands off Zadar's coast but under its jurisdiction. The data is based upon 22 individual contracts (11 in the 1540s, 3 in the 1550s, and 8 in the 1560s) and provides the total numbers of individual contracts. The named villages are Bilotinjak (Belotignach), (*Brusi*), Černise (Cernise), Grbe/Garbe (Gherbe), Nin/Nona (Nona), Ninsko jezero/Lago di Nona (Iacus None), (*Novoselci*), Papratnić (Papratnich), Perkovo (Percovo), Podvršje, Vrši/Verchè (Podverie), Privlaka/Brevilacqua (Bevilaqua), and (*Crisine*).
- (h) N/a, rest refers to those unidentified and/or other places whose small number did not justify their listing in an independent column. The latter category includes three instances in which places within the Novigradski distrikt (district of Novegradi) were named as well as the two times in which places within the Vranski distrikt (district of Aurana) were named. The data in this column is based upon 65 individual contracts (14 in the 1540s, 21 – including 2 from the district of Novigrad – in the 1550s, and 30 – 27 unidentified, 1 from the district of Novigrad, and the 2 from the district of Vrana – in the 1560s) and provides the total numbers of individual contracts.

Another interesting fact is that the average concession period increased from slightly more than three years (38.5 months) during the 1540s to about three and a half years (42.5 months) during the 1550s to three years and eight months (45.4 months) during the 1560s.¹⁵⁹ These could range from as little as one year¹⁶⁰ to as many as, in very few cases, up to twenty¹⁶¹ or thirty years.¹⁶² Usually, the land-owners devised also which crops were to be planted by the colonus/sozalis¹⁶³, in general this meant corn, grapes, or olives.¹⁶⁴ These data is derived from

¹⁵⁹ These numbers are the averages for the three decades, based upon the afore-referenced 478 individual concessions. It must be stressed, though, that these are, at best, approximate estimates, not only because of the fact that not all contracts stipulated (more or less) exact periods of time but also because they were estimated assuming that if the timespan mentioned in the contract is (one or more) winter(s), it counts as one year, too. Thus, these numbers must be treated with considerable care.

¹⁶⁰ For instance, in mid-January of 1555, "dominus Petrus de Bassano Civis et Notarius Jadre" conceded three gonjaj (or morgen, roughly 7,110 square metres) "in loco vocato Battaglie" to "Nicolao Philipouich ligonizatori habitatori Jadre". In the instrument, the landowner leased the "Introitum presentis anni, 1555" in exchange for a quarter of the grapes of the year's harvest. Cf. JM I, 3, f37v, stipulated on 13 January, 1555.

¹⁶¹ In January of 1562, "dominus Simon de Laurentijs (son of, the author) domini Hieronymi Civis Jadrensis" conceded six gonjaj (gognaj or morgen, roughly 1.42 hectares "in pertinentijs Villae Podberiane (near Podvršje, the author) per annos viginti proxime venturos (...) Reverendo domini Joanni Urancich parochiano Villae Tersce" (Tršći/Tersci), situated under Zadar's jurisdiction but within the territory of the diocese of Nin (Nona). The labouring party was obliged not to confer a quarter of the harvest per annum but a fifth. Cf. SB I, 1, 6, f345r/f345v, stipulated on 23 January, 1562.

Incidentally, the above-mentioned landlord's father, Hieronymus de Laurentijs, was referenced by, for instance, Pauli Justiniano, former captain of Zadar in his report to the Senate in February of 1553: "El popolo è fidelissimo, et doppo dio adora la vostra serenità et questa serenissima signoria. Li principali sono (...) Hierolimo de Lorenzi et altri simili." Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 3, 52.

¹⁶² In summer of 1561, the patrons of the village of Tinj (Tino), "dominus Franciscus de Ventura Civis Jadre (...) dominus Hieronymus Cortesius uti procurator excellentis domini Joannis Jovini Severiani doctoris, Ambo patroni ville Tini", conceded all their property in the vicinity of Tinj to "Joannus Umassich, Antonius Pilizarich, et Vitus Dobranich de dicta villa Intervenientes nominbus proprijs, et omnium villicorum". For a sixth of the annual harvest, the inhabitants of Tinj were given the rights to labour and profit from these lands "ad annos Triginta proxime futuros", preconditioned that the tenants brought said harvest "ad marinam", at their own expenses. Cf. JM I, 5, f32r/f32v, stipulated on 7 August, 1561.

¹⁶³ The individuals working on the fields were usually referred to as colonus or sozalis in the instruments, Tea Mayhew calls them težak (labourer), the individuals engaging in this day-to-day labour may also be called ligonizator (which means more or less the same as težak). For a reference to the term sozalis, cf. SB I, 1, 1, f3r, stipulated on 8 October, 1556, as well as Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 229–30.

¹⁶⁴ This did not change very much over the period of Venetian control, as highlighted by Tea Mayhew for the 17th century. Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 93, for the 17th century (after the Candian or Cretan War), see pages 111–40.

the legal basis¹⁶⁵ for the agricultural production and the instruments written by the notaries according to Jadertine statutory law, which were, in fact, lease contracts where the landlord conceded a part of his property in exchange for a certain predefined share of the harvest, indications where to deliver it and a range of other obligations.¹⁶⁶ Also the transport to the pre-defined location – in most cases this meant the house¹⁶⁷ or a ship belonging to the landlord and/or the procurator/representative of the land-owner¹⁶⁸ or to Zadar's harbour¹⁶⁹ – was to be organised and paid for by the colonus/sozalis.¹⁷⁰ Other than the produce which had to be consigned to the landlord – a quarter of the harvest¹⁷¹ –, an additional tenth (tithes) had to be given to the Church¹⁷², the rest was the labourer's. In case the land had to be cultivated before

¹⁶⁵ In general terms, follow Giorgetti, *Contadini e proprietari*, 138–99.

¹⁶⁶ Three days prior to the harvest, the labourer had to inform the landlord, see Lib. III, tit. LXXIII: "Quod quicumque laboraverit seu fecerit laborari alienas vineas domino denuntiare tenetur antequam vindimiet per tres dies." Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 318.

¹⁶⁷ When "ser Nicolaus Cimilich Civis Jadre" conceded 1.5 gonjaj (or morgen, roughly 3,555 square metres) to "Vito filio Joannis Ostrouizanin de suburbio ligonizatori Jadre", the landlord requested a quarter of the harvest "conducendum et defferendum Jadram domus ipsius patroni Sumptibus, et expensis omnibus Sozalis." Cf. JMM I, 2, 1, f53v, stipulated on 6 December, 1540.

¹⁶⁸ Likewise, "dominus Laurentius de Nassis" conceded 1.5 gonjaj for the duration of three winters to "Gregorio Millich et Petro Cusmich de insula ultra barchaneum" (Preko/Oltre, on Ugljan), requiring the tenants to deliver a quarter of the harvest "conducendum ad marinam ad barcam patroni". Again, all expenses were to be borne by the tenants. Cf. JM I, 3, f53v, stipulated on 10 March, 1555.

¹⁶⁹ As happened to the tenant of "dominus Nicolaus de Jordanis", stipulating on behalf of his absent brothers as well as his mother, in autumn of 1551. "Gregorio Marijch Nautj habitatori Jadre" received 3 gonjaj (roughly 7,110 square metres) of arable land near Petrčane (Peterzane or Porto Schiavina) and was required to transport the landlord's share of the harvest after the eighth year, "deferendum ad marinam." Cf. DC I, 2, 7, f31r, stipulated on 16 May, 1566.

¹⁷⁰ Usually, the landlord's share of the harvest had to be brought to a location of the landlord's choosing, with all expenses to be borne by the tenant, e.g. "conducendum Jadram domum dicti patroni sumptibus, et expensis ipsius sozalis." Cf. HM I, 1, f15v/f16r, stipulated on 3 May, 1567.

¹⁷¹ See Lib. III, tit. LXXII, "Quomodo, quousque et quibus expensis laborator vineae tenetur in uvis vel in vino partem domino assignare." Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 318.

In any way, the landowner's share of the harvest could range from the fixed quarter to incremental amounts. For instance, in January of 1558, "dominus Franciscus Thomaseus" and his brother, then "conductores afflictus triennialis Archiepiscopatus Jadrensis", conceded some of the archdiocese's property near the village of Podi to "Andrea Stoymilouich, Petro Stoymilouich, Simoni Tergliaeuich, Paulo Bratussich, Petro Boglielouich, Thomasio Hlapcich et Vucas Sissatouich". The tenants were required to transport their share of the harvest "primo anno (...) sextum dum taxat, pro secundo quintum, et pro tertio quartum." Cf. SB I, 1, 2, f88v/f89r, stipulated on 12 January, 1558.

For an overview of the agricultural organisation in medieval times, follow Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 96–100.

¹⁷² Again, "Reverendus dominus presbyter Joannes Thomaseus canonicus Jadrensis" conceded 11 gonjaj (gognaj or morgen, roughly 26 hectares) of his farmland in the Kolovare area to "ser Marco Grubacich stipendiato ad custodiam portae Terrae firmae, Georgio Messodilich, et Matthaeo ac Andree Babeich fratribus de Suburbio Jadrae" for the duration of five years. The landlord explicitly stipulated that their duties were a quarter and a tenth of the harvest: "(...) dare quintumdecimum pro decima omnium bladorum (...)". These were to be brought to Zadar, in addition, the landlord promised his "sozales" subsidy payments of 44 solidi per planted gonjaj per year. Cf. DC I, 1, 3, f12r/f12v, stipulated on 18 August, 1555.

ploughing and harvesting, the labourers were usually required to consign a partial payment off the empty land.¹⁷³

In some cases, the landlord also awarded certain amounts of money to the labourer(s), provided they managed to achieve a predefined task such as planting a number of olive trees¹⁷⁴, others involved a fixed bonus per planted morgen¹⁷⁵ or, even more simple, the relaxation of the landlord's share of the harvest for a number of years.¹⁷⁶ These concessions could be re-assigned to a third party¹⁷⁷, there was also room for additional exemptions from the stipulated obligations such as death, illness, military service, Ottoman incursions, pestilence, and/or unpaid public works.¹⁷⁸

As far as the locations in which these contracts were written are concerned, almost half of them – on average, 44.1 % – were written in the communal main square, its loggia, and/or the jurists' bank. An additional fifth of these instruments was stipulated in private houses, while further 18 % were written in one of Zadar's chancellories. Commercial storage and/or retail

¹⁷³ In general, Zadar's statutory law provided for the legal framework of the landlord's share of the harvest, see Lib. III, tit. XVII: "De iure emphiteotico seu de iure quod acquiritur danti et recipienti possessiones aliquas ad pastinandum", containing seven chapters. Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 324–32.

To be more specific, these provisions were irrespective of ecclesiastical or secular standing, office, or sex, as Lib. III., tit. XVII, cap. 82 clearly states: "Quod nullus det terram ad pastinandum minus quam ad quartam partem; et de poena dantis"; cap. 83: "Quod pastinator teneatur in circuitu vineae quae sit ultra quattuor gognay plantare arbores olivarum et quattuor arbores mororum", and cap. 88: "Quibus modis pastinator dara debeat teraticum domino in uvis vel in vino postulanti." Ibid., 324–6, 330–2.

¹⁷⁴ Bonus payments for olive trees planted varied from 4 solidi per planted tree to 6 solidi per planted tree to 12 solidi per planted tree, usually, these incentives came also with a predefined number of trees to be planted (within a certain amount of growing seasons/years). Cf., in order of their listing, ND I, 1, D, stipulated on 26 July, 1541, PB I, 1, 9, f36v/f37r, stipulated on 28 January, 1543, and JM I, 4, f63v, stipulated on 3 November, 1555.

See also the above-referenced part of Zadar's statutory law, Lib. III, tit. XVII, cap. 83: "Quod pastinator teneatur in circuitu vineae quae sit ultra quattuor gognay plantare arbores olivarum et quattuor arbores mororum." Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 326.

¹⁷⁵ For instance, "dominus Paulus de Pasinis Civis, ac mercator Jadre" offered his four coloni/sozales, "domino presbytro Joanni Matulcich, Nicolau Cherstulich, Matheo sive Matulo Susich, Michaelj Michocich" bonus payments. Living on the island of Ugljan off Zadar's coast, the four tenants were tasked with planting "pedes quindecim olinariorum pro quoque gognale" in exchange for 12 solidi "pro quaque arbore" on the former's ten gonjaj (roughly 23,700 square metres) on Ugljan. Cf. PB I, 1, 9, f36v/f37r, stipulated on 28 January, 1543.

¹⁷⁶ One possible incentive for labourers to pick up the plough was to concede a certain amount of arable land, for instance, 9 gonjaj (roughly 21,330 square metres) of farmland near Crno (Cerno) and stipulate that during the entire six years of planting, the coloni/sozales were exempted from delivering any duties. Once this timespan was over, the receiving party, "Hellenia uxor quondam Chersuli Dobrocinaz de villa Cerno districtus Jadrae et Mattheo Millassich de eodem loco", had to give the landowner, "dominus Donatus Cialellus quondam domini Thomae", his quarter of the harvest. Cf. DC I, 1, 1, f25v/f26r, stipulated on 23 October, 1552.

¹⁷⁷ See Lib. III, tit. XVII, cap. 85, "Quomodo rusticus emphiteota volens vendere iura sua tenetur denuntiare domino, et quae forma observari." Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 328.

For changes after the 1570s, including additional newcomers, transhumance, taxation in the context of Ottoman–Venetian relations, follow Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 232–49.

¹⁷⁸ See Lib. III, tit. XVI, cap. 68: "Qualiter laborator qui vineam conduxit sive ad partem sive ad medietatem, tenetur eam colere; et de poena si cessabit laborare, nisi interveniente iusta causa"; and cap. 69, "Qae sunt causae propter quas excusatur laborator, si non laboravit vineam ut convenit." Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 314–6, but see also Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 230–1.

facilities, so-called apothecae, were used in 7.3 % of all stipulations, some three-odd percent of all contracts were executed on ecclesiastical property. All other instruments, 6.7 %, were agreed upon elsewhere (cf. also part 4).¹⁷⁹

To sum it up, the concessions were the second-largest segment of the property market accessible by means of analysing notarial instruments, totalling less than half of the number of individual contracts as compared to the vending market.¹⁸⁰ And while the number of concessions was much smaller, the difference in the total acreage (that could be identified) is almost negligible. The vending market segment transferred 5,901.2 morgen of land over the thirty years compared to the 6,140.8 gonjaj conceded during the same timeframe. Structurally, though, the differences are much more apparent as the total acreage conceded increased six-fold from the 1540s to the 1560s. Geographically speaking, an absolute majority of the parcels of land were given to labourers within the line of sight of Zadar proper. Slightly more than every second concession involved property in the medieval *ager publicus* or *Astarea*, which constituted another important difference from the vending market. Another major distinction with social and geographical implications is to be found in the social provenance of the land-owners. While, on average, the upper social strata (nobility, clergy) made up only ten to twenty percent of the contracting parties as regards the vending market, their share in the concessions market in terms of land ownership increased to more than two thirds. As for the geographical dimension of the conceded lands, these are much more in line with the vending market. Nine out of ten land-owners originated from within the Jadertine jurisdiction, a percentage about as high as the corresponding share of activities in the vending market. As for the geographical distribution within Zadar's subdivisions, the 1540s stand out due to a much higher percentage of lands conceded within the *Astarea*. In the two ensuing decades this share decreased by almost a third, enabling concessions in the *Contado*'s to increase almost seven-fold; in the other subdivision, the districts of *Nin* and *Novigrad* as well as on the islands, this rise in concessions was not as pronounced. In order to complete the survey of the property-related aspects of economic activities, the smallest segment, the rental market, is up next.

¹⁷⁹ The average percentages are 44.1 % (211 individual contracts) for the communal main square, 20.5 % (98) for instruments stipulated in private lodgings, 18 % (86) in the Jadertine chancellories, 7.3 % (35) in an apotheca (business/storage facilities), and 3.3 % (16) in churches or convents; all other contracting locations amounted to 6.7 % (32). See part 4 as well as the appendix for detailed maps, statistics, and tables.

¹⁸⁰ Expressed in percentages, the vending market amounted to 1,067 individual contracts, given the index value of 100. Consequently, the 478 instruments described as concessions made up 44.8 % as compared to the vending market.

6.3. Locationes

As already mentioned, the rental contracts made up the smallest fraction of the property market, totalling 226 individual instruments.¹⁸¹ In them, the land-owner leased his proprietary rights to usufruct a plot of land to one or more individuals in exchange for a defined amount of money per defined rental terms.¹⁸² The notarial act did also contain additional provisions such as the date(s) or remittance as well as a variety of additional clauses discussed in detail below. As regards the terminology, the constituent party is usually called the locator(es), the renting party is named a conductor.¹⁸³

Table 11: Rental Market, Overview (1540 to 1569)

	no. of acts ^a	% of total ^b	Latin ^c	'Italian' ^d	♀ landlords ^e	♀ tenants ^f
1540s	34	15 %	34	—	2	—
1550s	75	33.2 %	73	2	12	1
1560s	117	51.8 %	96	21	13	7
	226	100 %	203	23	30	8

Sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JM (1545–1569), JMM (1540–1554), NC (1558–1567), ND (1540–1566), PB (1540–1569), PS (1545–1551), SB (1556–1565), SM (1555–1567). In all, 226 individual contracts were analysed.

Table 11 shows an overview of the rental contracts upon which the subsequent analysis is based. See also the appendix for more details.

- (a) Lists the over-all numbers of rental contracts for the three decades from 1 January, 1540, to 31 December, 1569.
- (b) Lists the share of the single decades relative to the over-all number in the respective decades.
- (c) Lists the over-all number of individual instruments written in Latin corresponding to the relative decade. The bottom line gives the total number of notarial acts written in Latin.
- (d) Lists the over-all number of individual instruments written in the Venetian variant of the 'Italian' language corresponding to the relative decade. The bottom line gives the total number of notarial acts written in this language.
- (e) This gives the over-all numbers of female constituent parties for the three decades, measured by women being the only constituent party and/or additions like *mulier sui iuris*. The bottom line gives the over-all number of female constituent parties for the three decades.
- (f) This gives the over-all numbers of female constituent parties for the three decades, measured by women being the only procuratorial party and/or additions like *mulier sui iuris*. The bottom line gives the over-all number of female constituent parties for the three decades.

At first glance, the data provided for in table 11 suggests the following conclusions. The total number of individual contracts amounted to only slightly more than a fifth as compared to the vending market.¹⁸⁴ This begs the following two important questions. First, was the value of

¹⁸¹ An exemplary transcription of such an instrument is provided in the appendix.

¹⁸² For general background on landownership in neighbouring Italy, follow Giorgetti, *Contadini e proprietari*, 138–99.

¹⁸³ An exemplary transcription of such a contract is provided in the appendix.

¹⁸⁴ The actual percentage is 21.2 % as compared to the 1,067 individual contracts of the vending market, assuming that the latter's index value is 100.

landed property higher or lower than the vending market and, if so, by which margins? The second question of significance is who benefited from landed property? Traditionally, land-ownership was concentrated among the upper social strata, mostly among the nobility and the Church. Especially the latter's role is of interest as it has, as of the writing of the present study, more often than not escaped scholarly attention.¹⁸⁵ Another issue evident in table 11 above is that the average percentage of women renting out property is, again, higher than ten percent, almost twice as high as it was as regards the concessions but still slightly lower than in the vending market.¹⁸⁶

In the next step, the constituent parties are examined in much more detail, especially in the context of the two most elevated social strata, the nobility and the clergy. Since the latter's activities did not attract too much interest as of now, the Church's engagement in the landed property market is of additional significance.

As opposed to the two categories discussed before, the geographical provenance is slightly altered. While still eight out of ten proprietors came from Zadar proper (including, for practical purposes, also the three constituents from its suburban dwellings), the origins of the remaining fifth of the land-owners is more widely distributed, ranging from within Jadertine jurisdiction (6.2 %) to other parts of the Albanian-Dalmatian double province (2.2 %) to Istria and Venice (2.6 %).¹⁸⁷ Given that an additional ten percent of land-owners originated from places other those referred above, there was slightly more geographical diversity involved in landed property dealings. Let us now focus on these land-owning individuals and/or institutions renting out their possessions.

Again, as was the case with the concessions, the two highest social strata, the nobility and the clergy, dominated the rental market with a combined share of almost three quarters. All other elite groups contributed to the remaining percentage, although in numbers so small as to render their impact more or less insignificant in terms of their economic abilities and corresponding impact.

¹⁸⁵ Budak, "Urban élites," 188.

¹⁸⁶ On average, these percentages are 16.2 % for the vending parties as opposed to 7.3 % for the conceding parties.

¹⁸⁷ The total numbers are 30 (29 Zadar/1 suburbs) for the 1540s, 58 (56/2) for the 1550s, and 94 (Zadar only) for the 1560s, average percentage for all three decades is 80.5 %. See the appendix for detailed maps, statistics, and tables.

Table 11.1: Constituent Land-owning Parties, Overview (1540 to 1569)

	nobles ^a	clergy ^b	artisans ^c	soldiers ^d	traders ^e	intell. ^f	rest ^g
1540s	12 (♀ 1)	13 (1)	4	–	1	–	4
1550s	31 (♀ 5)	21 (3)	4	4	–	3 (3)	12
1560s	61 (♀ 13)	27 (4)	3	4	–	9 (5)	13
	104 (♀ 19)	61 (8)	11	8	1	12 (8)	29

Sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JM (1545–1569), JMM (1540–1554), MAS (1544–1548), NC (1558–1567), ND (1540–1566), PB (1540–1569), PS (1545–1551), SB (1556–1565), SM (1555–1567). In all, 226 individual contracts were analysed.

Table 11.1 shows the over-all numbers of the constituent parties of the rental contracts as regards their social (nobles, clergy, artisans) as well as functional (soldiers, traders, intelligence) provenance from 1 January, 1540, to 31 December, 1569. All percentages are given with respect to the over-all percentages. All toponyms given below were found in the sources. All locations below were found in the sources, are referred to with their present toponyms and, where-ever possible, the corresponding Italian toponyms of the then-Venetian possessions are given in brackets. See also the appendix for more details.

- (a) Nobles refers to the social group of all constituent parties of noble descent from Zadar/Zara (Jadra). The numbers given are the over-all numbers of individuals of noble descent and the corresponding number in brackets is the number of women among those (in case only women were the constituent party, in all other cases, women were counted in the over-all figure. The bottom line gives the combined three-decade number.
- (b) Clergy refers to those individuals and institutions (e.g. a convent or a church) assumed to have belonged to the ecclesiastical parts of society, including both landowners and conductores (renting out an already leased patch of land to a third party). The numbers given are the over-all numbers of individuals and/or institutions the corresponding number in brackets is the number of individuals of noble descent among those. The bottom line gives the combined three-decade number.
- (c) Artisans refers to all craftsmen as defined by their title *magister* (master) and/or handcraft description. The numbers given are the over-all number of artisans. The bottom line gives the combined three-decade number.
- (d) Soldiers refers to all military personnel irrespective of their social, geographical, and rank-related provenance. The numbers given are the over-all numbers of individuals. The bottom line gives the combined three-decade number.
- (e) Traders refers to the single individuals engaged in commerce. The numbers given are the over-all numbers of individuals. The bottom line gives the combined three-decade number.
- (f) Intell. refers to the percentage of all individuals assumed to have been literate who, for practical purposes, have been put into the category 'intelligence' including the following job descriptions: *advocatus/causidicus/solicitor* (advocate/lawyer/solicitor), *cancellarius* (chancellor), *gabellotus* (tax collector), *leges utriusque doctor* (doctor of both laws), *notarius* (notary public), *scriba* (scribe), and *artium et medicinae doctor* (medical doctor). The numbers given are the over-all numbers of individuals and the corresponding number in brackets is the number of individuals of noble descent among those. The bottom line gives the combined three-decade number.
- (g) Rest refers to number of individuals belonging to neither group above. The bottom line gives the combined three-decade number.

What this meant in practical terms is that most valuable land was concentrated in the hands of either nobles and/or ecclesiastical institutions. Especially the latter becomes evident considering the fact that while, on average, 27 % of the land-owning parties were members of the clergy – but only a fraction of these were, in fact, individuals. Roughly nine out of ten Church-related constituent parties (read: land-owners) were institutions such as churches (parish

or otherwise), convents, and/or hospitals, not people.¹⁸⁸ This connects the rental market – again – to the procuratorial instruments analysed in part two: Six out of ten constituent parties employed representatives to lease their property.¹⁸⁹

Another interesting trend visible in the table above is that while the ecclesiastical land-owners were more numerous compared to the nobility in the 1540s, this changed rather dramatically over the two subsequent decades. As the data suggests, the relation was more than inverse by the 1560s with the aristocratic share having been twice as large as the clergy's. What, for instance, has been described as the “political importance of the abbot of St Chrysogonus convent” in Zadar by Neven Budak¹⁹⁰, was much more tangible in terms of appearance and power than he probably imagined it to be by the mid-sixteenth century. All other groups, with the limited exception of a small number of artisans, virtually non-existent in terms of land-ownership. These facts connect the rental market with the concessions segment of the real estate transactions.

In the subsequent steps, we shall first focus on the renting parties and, second, on the leased land, its value, and locations within Jadertine jurisdiction.

As evidenced, the two most important groups, the nobility and the clergy, were not as prominently present in the renting segment as opposed to their appearance in the vending and concessions markets. The average numbers decrease by significant margins to less than half for the nobles and more than threefold for members of the Church. In the latter case, the fact that while there were mostly institutions (the bishopric, convents, and parish churches) leasing their property, there were only individuals renting it.

¹⁸⁸ For instance, these include parishes such as St Mary's church in the suburbs (no longer existing), the convent of St Chrysogonus, a Benedictine monastery, and the hospital of St Martin. Zadar and its suburbs were not only home to an archbishopric, many churches and convents, but also to two hospitals within the city walls as well as a couple of parishes outside the suburbs. See Runje, “Lazaret u pregradu.” See also the appendix for a detailed map of Zadar and its surrounding environs.

¹⁸⁹ The average percentage for all three decades combined was 61.9 % or 140 out of 226 contracts. These numbers include also the noting of one (or more) of the constituent parties as being absent while the present constituent party stipulated for the absentee(s) as well. See also the appendix for detailed maps, statistics, and tables.

¹⁹⁰ It must be noted, though, that Neven Budak wrote about the 14th century. However, as evidenced by the data above, this did not change very much over the course of the subsequent centuries. Budak, “Urban élites,” 188.

Table 11.2: Social and Functional Provenances, Renting Parties (1540 to 1569)

	nobles ^a	clergy ^b	artisans ^c	soldiers ^d	traders ^e	intell. ^f	rest ^g
1540s	4	4	4	4	10	1	7
1550s	14 (♀ 1)	4	4	5	9	7 (1)	32
1560s	28 (♀ 3)	11	6	3	17	8 (6)	44
	46 (♀ 4)	19	14	12	36	16 (7)	83

Sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JM (1545–1569), JMM (1540–1554), MAS (1544–1548), NC (1558–1567), ND (1540–1566), PB (1540–1569), PS (1545–1551), SB (1556–1565), SM (1555–1567). In all, 226 individual contracts were analysed.

Table 11.1 shows the over-all numbers of the constituent parties of the renting contracts as regards their social (nobles, clergy, artisans) as well as functional (soldiers, traders, intelligence) provenance from 1 January, 1540, to 31 December, 1569. All percentages are given with respect to the over-all percentages. All toponyms given below were found in the sources. All locations below were found in the sources, are referred to with their present toponyms and, where-ever possible, the corresponding Italian toponyms of the then-Venetian possessions are given in brackets. See also the appendix for more details.

- (a) Nobles refers to the social group of all constituent parties of noble descent from Zadar/Zara (Jadra). The numbers given are the over-all numbers of individuals of noble descent and the corresponding number in brackets is the number of women among those (in case only women were the constituent party, in all other cases, women were counted in the over-all figure. The bottom line gives the combined three-decade number.
- (b) Clergy refers to those individuals and institutions (e.g. a convent or a church) assumed to have belonged to the ecclesiastical parts of society, including both landowners and conductores (renting out an already leased patch of land to a third party). The numbers given are the over-all numbers of individuals and/or institutions the corresponding number in brackets is the number of individuals of noble descent among those. The bottom line gives the combined three-decade number.
- (c) Artisans refers to all craftsmen as defined by their title magister (master) and/or handcraft description. The numbers given are the over-all number of artisans. The bottom line gives the combined three-decade number.
- (d) Soldiers refers to all military personnel irrespective of their social, geographical, and rank-related provenance. The numbers given are the over-all numbers of individuals. The bottom line gives the combined three-decade number.
- (e) Traders refers to the single individuals engaged in commerce. The numbers given are the over-all numbers of individuals. The bottom line gives the combined three-decade number.
- (f) Intell. refers to the percentage of all individuals assumed to have been literate who, for practical purposes, have been put into the category 'intelligence' including the following job descriptions: advocatus/causidicus/solicitor (advocate/lawyer/solicitor), cancellarius (chancellor), gabellotus (tax collector), leges utriusque doctor (doctor of both laws), notarius (notary public), scriba (scribe), and artium et medicinae doctor (medical doctor). The numbers given are the over-all numbers of individuals and the corresponding number in brackets is the number of individuals of noble descent among those. The bottom line gives the combined three-decade number.
- (g) Rest refers to number of individuals belonging to neither group above. The bottom line gives the combined three-decade number.

The most basic fact derived from table 11.2 above is that, contrarily to the leasing parties, the single largest 'group' appearing is labelled 'rest', denoting all those renting individuals who did not belong to any of the elite groups. This is significant as, in combination with the fact that two thirds of the entire property leased belonging to either the nobility or the clergy, it puts the notions about the former two groups' decline in perspective.

Furthermore, as already demonstrated in the concessions market, the economically active mercantile community invested comparatively large amounts of money in real estate. There was only one land-owner from this group – and there were thirty-six transactions involving a

merchant among the renting parties (out of 226 instances, or 15.9 %). Another interesting aspect is that although the artisans' share increased by slightly more than 25 % compared to their percentage among the leasing parties, their over-all proportion remained more or less irrelevant to the over-all picture.

As far as the provenance of the renting parties is concerned, a significant but predictable shift occurred. Still, nine out of ten renting parties originated from within Jadertine jurisdiction, however, the major shift is that Zadar proper and, for practical purposes, its suburban dwellings made up 'only' 65 % of all origins.¹⁹¹ The additional 25 % of the renting parties came from elsewhere within the Jadertine jurisdiction, the remaining tenth could not be identified.¹⁹²

Table 11.3 below reveals a number of interesting facts but before we turn to them, let us start with the total numbers. The total sum involved in the 226 individual rental contracts amounted to 20,997.1 ducats¹⁹³, a huge total, even more so if one places it in the context of the much larger vending market (in terms of individual contracts or turnover per notarial act). The latter's turnover (20,528.9 ducats) was almost as high as the former, however, this more or less equal revenue was possible only because the vending market was about five times larger than the rental market.¹⁹⁴ Landed property was a significant factor in the generation of wealth for the Jadertine elites – which in this context means predominantly the nobility and the clergy.

Let us now examine the data provided, starting with the Contado. Investments in these geographically more remote regions of Zadar's jurisdiction tripled during the period from the 1540s to the 1560s. This statement sums up the entirety of the changes involved as the average prices for parcels of land remained virtually stable, dropping from 55.9 ducats in the first decade under survey to one ducat less in the last decennium. This is reinforced by the fact that

¹⁹¹ The total numbers are 24 (22 Zadar/2 suburbs) for the 1540s, 48 (Zadar only) for the 1550s, and 78 (77/1) for the 1560s, average percentage for all three decades is 65 %. See also the appendix for detailed maps, statistics, and tables.

¹⁹² The numbers are 6 individual contractees from the *ager publicus*/Astarea, 5 from the islands, 8 from within the district of Nin, 7 from within the district of Novigrad (Novegradi), one from Tinj (Tino, from within the district of Vrana), and 29 from the rest of the Contado, giving even indications about which places were inhabited around the mid-16th century. See also the appendix for detailed maps, statistics, and tables.

¹⁹³ The numbers for the individual decades are 1,825.2 ducats for the 1540s, 8,473.5 ducats for the 1550s, and 10,698.4 ducats for the 1560s. See also the appendix for detailed maps, statistics, and tables.

¹⁹⁴ The vending market data is based upon 1,067 individual contracts, the rental market data has been collected from 226 individual contracts.

the price remained more or less the same despite the fact that the number of individual instruments involved increased more than tenfold.

Second, the *ager publicus* or *Astarea*. Again, this was the most dynamic area in terms of price movements. The over-all share of land within the line of sight of Zadar increased 'only' by a little over five percent from the first to the last decade, a seemingly innocuous increase – but the total number of individual instruments increased fivefold from the 1540s to the 1560s. More importantly, the average prices during the same period of time increased by a much larger percentage. This development put enormous pressure on rental duties, which, correspondingly, increased almost fivefold from the 1540s to the 1560s. Again, as was the case in the *Contado*, this is backed by the simple fact that number of individual contracts stipulated during the latter decade was five times as high as during the first.

Third, the islands. As evidenced already by the price movement (or lack thereof) in the vending market, price development for leased property off the mainland exhibited roughly the same development in the rental market. There were virtually no change in the prices which is of special significance given the high fluctuation of individual contracts and their respective market shares during each of the three decades. Again, these facts actually do reinforce the notion of rents on the islands remaining stable during the entire timespan under consideration.

Table 11.3: Rental Market Turnover, Contado – Astarea – Islands (1540 to 1569)

	Contado ^a	total amount ø amount ¹	Astarea ^b	total amount ø amount ¹	Islands ^c	total amount ø amount ¹
1540s	4	223.7 ø 55.9	4	56.6 ø 14.2	15	1,179.6 ø 78.6
1550s	23	941.4 ø 40.9	9	353 ø 39.2	7	549 ø 78.4
1560s	43	2,347.4 ø 54.6	20	1,360.4 ø 68	17	1,331.4 ø 78.3
	70	3,512.5 ø 50.2	33	1,770 ø 53.6	39	3,060 ø 78.5

Sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JM (1545–1569), JMM (1540–1554), MAS (1544–1548), NC (1558–1567), ND (1540–1566), PB (1540–1569), PS (1545–1551), SB (1556–1565), SM (1555–1567). In all, 226 individual contracts were analysed.

Table 11.3 shows the development of the rental market turnover from 1 January, 1540, to 31 December, 1569, in three subdivisions of Zadar's jurisdiction based upon Raukar, *Zadar u XV. stoljeću*, 46: Contado, Astarea, and the islands. The bottom line gives the three-decade averages and, as above, 1 gonjaj equalled circa 2,370 square metres, Raukar, *Zadar u XV. stoljeću*, 298, and Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 759–60.

In the 1540s, the average terms of lease was 6.9 years (based upon data from 33 out of the 34 contracts for this decade), grossing the total sum of 1,825.2 ducats, and 7.8 ducats on average; in the 1550s, the average term of lease dropped to 4.1 years (based upon data from 73 out of the 75 contracts for this decade), grossing the total sum of 8,473.5 ducats, and 27.8 ducats on average; in the 1560s, the average terms of lease was 5.3 years (based upon data from 113 out of the 117 contracts for this decade), grossing the total sum of 10,698.4 ducats, and 17.2 ducats on average. The over-all averages for the entire timespan under survey was the average term of lease of 5.4 years (based upon data from 219 out of the total number of 226 contracts), grossing the total amount of 20,997.1 ducats, and the average amount of 17.6 ducats.

All locations below were found in the sources, are referred to with their present toponyms and, where-ever possible, the corresponding Italian toponyms of the then-Venetian possessions are given in brackets. See also the appendix for more details.

(a) Contado refers to a number of places on the mainland excluding all places within the minor districts of Ljubač/Gliuba (Gliube), Nin/Nona (Nona), Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado), and Vrana/Aurana (Vrana). The data above are the numbers of individual instruments upon which the respective analysis is based. The named villages are Artikovo (Articovo), Baščica (Basizza), Blato/Blato (Blato), Brda/Berdo (Berda), Drenovac/Drinovazzo (Drinovazzo), Galovac/Galovazzo (Galovaz), Gladuša/Gladussa (Gladussa), Grusi/Grue (Grusi), Kamenjani (Chamegnani), Kotopaščina (Cottopaschina), Kožino/Càproli, Còsino (Cosinoselo), Mahurci (Mahurci), Miljačka/Migliazza (Migliacza), Murvica/Murvizza (Murvizza), Podi/Podi (Podi), Polišane/Polissane (Polisane), Poričane (Porizane), Račice/Racice (Racice), Skril/Scrile (Scrile), Smoković/Smòcovich (Smochovich), Starovci (Starovzzi), Strupnić (Strupnich), Tršci (Tersci), Veterinčić/Veterinici (Veterinichi), Visočane/Visozzane (Visozane), Zlovšane (Slouhsane).

(b) Astareja/Astarea (districtus) refers to the territory of the medieval ager publicus, an entity comprising roughly the built-up area of present-day Zadar, excluding the burgus/suburbs/borgo (suburban settlements). The data above are the numbers of individual instruments upon which the respective analysis is based. The named places are Babindub/Santa Maria della Rovere (Sancte Marie de Rovere), Bibinje/Bibigne (Bibigne), Bili Brig/Belvedere (Belvederium), Bokanjac/Boccagnazzo (Bocagnazzo), Crno/Cerno (Cerno), Diklo/Diclo (Diclo), Gaženica/Porto Nuovo (Gasenica), Grgomičić (Gerguriza), Kolovare/Colovare (Colovare), Koprancj (Copragl), Višnjik/San Giovanni (ad Sanctum Joannem), and Zerodo (Cerodolo).

(c) Islands refers to a number of places on the inhabited islands off Zadar's coast but under its jurisdiction. The data above are the numbers of individual instruments upon which the respective analysis is based. The named islands, places, and villages are:

Dugi Otok/Isola Lunga or Grossa: Rat Veli/Punte Bianche (Punta Bianca), Sale/Sali (Sale), and Dragove/San Leonardo, Villa Dragova, or Porto Dragòn (Dragoua);

Pašman/Pasmano (Pasmano): Banj/Bagno di Pasmano (Bagno), Nevidane/Neviane or Novigliano (Neviane), Pašman/Pasmano (Pasmano), and Punta Pašman/Punta Pasmano (Puncta di Pasmano);

Ugljan/Ugliano (Ugliano): Kukljica/Camera, Cucchizza, or Cuclizza (Chuchgliza), Lukoran/Lucorano (Luco-rano), Preko/Oltre (Oltre), Sutomiščica/Sant'Eufemia (Sancte Euphemie), and Ugljan/Ugliano (Ugliano).

And the minor island of Iž/Eso (Eso, Exo).

(1) These three columns provide information on total and average turnover for the respective categories (Contado – Astarea – Islands). Numbers in both lines are prices in ducats, the upper line gives the total turnover and the lower line gives the average turnover for each of the respective categories and decades.

Assessing the size of the properties involved is much more difficult in the rental market since many contracts do not list the (more or less precise) sizes of the parcels of land involved. Tomislav Raukar stated that during the fifteenth century property was rented out in patches of seven to seven and a half hectares¹⁹⁵, by the mid–sixteenth century this had changed. In less than a third of all rental contracts the territory size is given in ždrijeb or sors, in some additional thirteen–odd percent of all instruments the size of the property is given in gonjaj (gognaj or morgen). In about half of all documents involved there is no hint as to the size of the rented parcels of land. Consequently, it is easier to investigate the average length of these rental contracts. The land was leased, on average, for almost seven and a half years (89 months) during the 1540s, a number which dropped to slightly more than four years (49 months) during the 1550s. The last decade under survey, the 1560s, saw this average rental span increase again to more than five years (63.7 months), the three–decade average is slightly more than five and a half years.¹⁹⁶

In every single instrument the dates of remittance are given, too. If payment for the duration of the rent was not paid up–front, the rent payments were due on various fixed days. Usually, these instalments were to be paid on various feast days, for instance, the following dates appear most often in the sources: St George (23 April), James, son of Zebedee (25 July), and Michelmas or St Michael the Archangel (29 September). In addition, payments also occurred on Christmas, Easter, and/or around New Year (31 December/1 January). The dates on which the honorantias (special gifts) had to be given to the landlord were also closely related to the ecclesiastical year. Analogous to the concessions, these involved small(er) livestock and/or poultry and had to be handed over for *carnis privum* (carnival), Easter, and Christmas festivities.

¹⁹⁵ During the 15th century, the property size on the mainland typically consisted of 1 sors/ždrijeb, equalling 30 to 32 gonjaj (gognaj or morgen, between 7.1 and 7.6 hectares), with about an eighth of the parcel of land unavailable for farming (taken up by various houses and farm buildings), a smaller part was usually used as vineyard, the rest was under the plough. A number of such compounds made up the small villages of the *terraferma* hinterlands of Zadar. For further information, See Raukar, *Zadar u XV. stoljeću*, 71–196, especially the section on property developments on pages 151–96.

¹⁹⁶ In all, out of 226 contracts only 7 instruments lack a precise account of the time a given property is leased. The numbers above are the averages compiled from these 226 contracts. See also the appendix for detailed maps, statistics, and tables.

Additional security clauses for the tenants were usually included. Most documents included provisions against fire clearing and/or other forms of forest clearance¹⁹⁷, exemptions from duties could be obtained in case of damages sustained from both bad weather¹⁹⁸ and Ottoman-induced damages¹⁹⁹ during the renting period. In some documents the landlord, who usually paid for damages on her or his property, capped his liabilities to a third of the sum²⁰⁰, which in any way had to be estimated jointly by both contracting parties.²⁰¹ In addition, some-

¹⁹⁷ In spring of 1540, the nobles-only nunnery of St Mary OSB, represented by “venerabila domina Donata de Nassis benemerita Abbatissa” and two other nuns, leased one of the convent’s possessions on the island of Iž (Eso), to “Georgio Piscich de insula Exo”. The contract stated that the tenure of Georgio already commenced on 23 April, 1540, and included also considerable numbers of livestock: “Cum capris Cum lacte numero ducentis sexdecim, animalibus bechinis a femme numero viginti, animalibus bechinis duaninis numero nonem, Capris duaninis numero quinquaginta quatuor Caprinis Inter mares, et feminas numero quinquaginta septem, pecudibus cum lacte numero quinquaginta octo, montonis magnis numero tresdecim, montonis duaninis numero quatuor, agnellis duaninis feminis viginti duabus, Agnellis Inter mares, et feminas numero viginti duobus”, totalling 475 animals. This large numbers of livestock explained why Georgio agreed to pay 54 ducats per year – and obliged himself further: “Cum pacto, ac Condicione que dictus Georgius affectuarius non possit Incendere neque fundi facere ligna In boscho dicte possessionis pro vendendo nec aliter.” Cf. ND I, 1, B, stipulated on 13 May, 1540.

This additional clause appears slightly redundant as the communal law contained a chapter banning the inflammation of fruit-carrying trees. See also Ref., cap. 61: “De arboribus fructiferis non incidendis”, Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 560.

¹⁹⁸ As happened, for instance, in autumn of 1543 when “Reverendus dominus Matheus de Marchetis canonicus Jadrensis, Nec non Comendatarius Abbatie Sancti Michaelis de Monte in Insula, ultra Barchaneum Jadrensis diocesis” leased the entirety of the abbey’s property to “Gregorio Gerdouich quondam Laurentij de dicta insula” and his absent brother, “Paulj, eius fratris”. Like above, a number of animals (118 animals, small livestock) was included in the rental contract, the annual rent amounted to 50 ducats, and the term of lease was three years, too. But in the spot in which the contract referenced above included provisions about the preservation of the trees on the property, this instrument provided for a different potential problem: “Item que si dicti conductores aliquam Damificationem paterentur, quam Deus avertat, In dicta conductione, Abbatie occasione Grandinis, seu Tempestatis, Durante ipsa locatione Trienia Tunc ipse dominus Abbas possit restauratione facere ipsis conductoribus Secundum Jus Comuni (...).” Cf. PB I, 1, 9, f32r/f32v, stipulated on 22 October, 1543.

¹⁹⁹ In May of 1545, for instance, when “dominus Joannes de Pechiaro quondam domini Francisci Nobilis Jadre” and his absent as well as unnamed brother leased four sors (or ždrijev, roughly 120 to 124 hectares) near the village of Polišane (Polissane) to “strenuo domino Petro Clada Capitaneo stratiotarum”. For the duration of three years, the soldier agreed to pay 10 ducats annual rent, obviously, the rent dropped considerably once no livestock was involved as well as the Ottoman–Venetian border was closer. The instrument explicitly stated that “casu quo dictus dominus Petrus non poterit percipere utilitatem ex dictis sortibus quatuor occasione belli et Incursionis Turcharum quod Deus avertat, non debeat nec teneatur solvere nisi pro anno (...).” Cf. JM I, 1, f9v/f10r, stipulated on 5 May, 1545.

²⁰⁰ These clauses were of higher importance during wartimes, for instance, while the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Venice were still fighting in spring of 1540, “dominus Bernardinus Prititius Nobilis Nonensis habitator Jadre” leased all of his property on the island of Pašman (Pasmano) to “magistro Simonj Profete sutor” (a master–cobbler) for the duration of 20 years. No livestock on the property was involved and Simon agreed to pay 23 ducats for the entire term of lease while the landlord stipulated “que si durante presenti Locatione acciderit Casus Bellj, aut Grandinis (...) in fructibus, ipsum conductorem ultra Tertiam partem, Juxta Juris dispositionis que Tunc sibj conductori fieri debeat restauratio Sive remissio pensionis pro rata (...).” Cf. PB I, 1, 7, f33v, stipulated on 9 April, 1540.

²⁰¹ In the mid–1560s, for instance, “dominus Franciscus de Pechiaro quondam domini Joannis nobilis Jadre” leased 3.5 sors (or ždrijev, roughly 105 to 112 hectares) to “domina Cornelia uxori domini Francisci de Pechiaro quondam domini Francisci patruelis sui”. The property was in the vicinity of the village of Artikovo (Articovo) for the annual rent of 8 ducats, should any damages due to war or storms occur, “quod Deus avertat dictus locator teneatur et debeat resarcire ipsi conductori damnum que passus fuerit ultra comunem extimationem (...).” Cf. ND I, 2, 4, f74r/f74v, stipulated on 6 November, 1565.

times third parties obtained the explicit authorisation to use the rented property as pasture-lands for their own livestock.²⁰²

Lastly, the locations in which the instruments were written are of interest, too. In order to assess the geographical dimension of notarial activities, these places have been categorised as above. Of the total number of 226 contracts, a fifth was stipulated in or in front of the loggia, at the jurist's bank, and/or elsewhere in the communal main square. Some thirteen percent were written in both one or another one's apotheca (storage/vending rooms) and in one of Zadar's chancelleries. Slightly less lands were rented out in churches, convents, and other ecclesiastical places while another quarter of all instruments was executed in private lodgings (cf. also part 4).²⁰³

To sum up the main characteristics of the rental market, it is pivotal to acknowledge the dominance the nobility and the clergy exerted in this particular activity. On average, almost three quarters of all land leased belonged to these two social groups. While there were some shifts as regards the exact distribution between the nobles and the members of the Church, the over-all share of these upper strata remains constantly high. An additional trait of significance is that sinecures belonging to ecclesiastical institutions like the Jadertine archbishopric, convents, and parish churches made up almost all land-owners belonging to the clergy, not individual people. As far as the renting parties were concerned, these two groups, the nobles and members of the Church, still make up three out of ten individuals leasing property. What is much more interesting, though, is that while neither merchants nor members of the intelligence category could be identified to play any significant part in renting real estate, the combined percentage of these two groups made up slightly less than a quarter in terms of leasing land.

In terms of turnover, the renting market totalled almost 21,000 ducats from the 1540s to the 1560s, of which roughly three out of four coins went to the two upper strata. As regards aver-

²⁰² In spring of 1566, "dominus Pompeius Grisogonus nobilis Jadre agens nomine suo proprio, et domini Julij eius fratris" leased all their property to the inhabitants of Zemunik, represented by "Jacobus Bancich de villa Zemunici (...) pro se ipso, ac nomine totius communis dictae ville (...) in pertinentijs dictae ville." The villagers rented the property for four years in exchange for the annual payment of 90 libras parvorum and, in addition, one "Jurat Ziucoiuch villicus dicti domini Pompei possit, et valeat absque aliqua solutione sive angaridio pasculare in dictis pasculis locatis eius animalia tam bovina tamquam ovina (...)." Cf. NC I, 4, f11r, stipulated on 19 August, 1566.

²⁰³ The averages for the entire timespan are 20.4 % (46 individual stipulations) for the communal main square, another 13.3 % (30) for the apotheca category, 25.7 % (58) in the privacy of houses, 13.7 % (31) in one of the chancelleries, 11.9 % (27) were written within ecclesiastical belongings. The rest, 15 % (34), was written elsewhere. See also the appendix for detailed maps, statistics, and tables.

age prices for landed property, it is worth noting that there was virtually no increase in the average rent for parcels of land on the islands off the mainland and the wider Contado parts of Zadar's jurisdiction. As already evidenced in the vending market, though, prices within the line of sight of the Jadertine city walls sky-rocketed, increasing almost five times during the 1560s (compared to the two prior decades). In most other instances involved such as date(s) of remittance, honorantias (special gifts), and additional obligations of both contracting parties, the very same provisions of importance as compared to the concessions, were provided for in the rental contracts as well.

Synopsis

Part three applies a two-pronged approach as regards who the elite groups were and in which activities they engaged. The former aspects are addressed by further dissecting and analysing the political, ecclesiastical, and economic elites. Based on the combination of reports by (former) Venetian officials on duty in Zadar and relevant notarial instruments, dense images of the involved individuals emerge. The second segment of part three consists of an economic case study and presents in-depth analysis of Zadar's property markets and the involved stipulating parties. The real estate transactions were chosen primarily because of the over-all decline of Zadar's commerce and trade and the concomitant increase in the significance of safe investments, as highlighted, *inter alia*, by Neven Budak and Tomislav Raukar.²⁰⁴

The first chapter further dissects the political elites and separately details the activities of the Venetians, their administration, and the local nobility. By combining the insight gained by analysing the governor's and captain's reports with the notarial records, colourful 'images' with the appropriate 'soundtrack'²⁰⁵ emerge. Venice's officials and their administration were called upon regularly in order to deal with various issues challenging the Republic's interest, to keep order on the streets, and/or resolved legal issues. While the total number of Venetian individuals present in Zadar around the mid-sixteenth century was rather small compared to the local elites, the latter were included into the administrative apparatus on lower levels of power, not restricted to natives of Zadar but open to qualified individuals from within Venice's maritime state. Another important group within the social and economic framework of the Dalmatian cities was the ecclesiastical elite, understood to include not only individuals like high-ranking church officials but also convents, parish churches, and charitable institutions. Absent many comparative studies, this inclusion renders it possible to tentatively assess the activities of the ecclesiastical members of Zadar's society, their main protagonists, and their interactions with the rest of society. Especially in the latter case, the Jadertine nobility's role within the local ecclesiastical structures such as the Benedictine, Dominican, and Franciscan Orders reveals the potential of future surveys into this "almost unexplored field"²⁰⁶ of aristocratic activities. The third segment addresses the economic elites, i.e. the very few Vene-

²⁰⁴ In general, follow Raukar, *Zadar u XV. stoljeću*, 71–196, especially the section on property developments on pages 151–96, short remarks thereto can also be found in Budak, "Urban élites," 186–7.

²⁰⁵ Quoted after McKee, "Women under Venetian Colonial Rule," 35.

²⁰⁶ Budak, "Urban élites," 195.

tian patricians then-present, the nobles, and commoners involved in a variety of economic activities, exemplified by cursory surveys of salt production, livestock transactions, and the sale of ships. While the notarial records reveal much interesting information about these aspects, their significance to the over-all economic activities was very small. Combined, these transactions constitute only a very small number of the preserved notarial records from the 1540s to the 1560s and were included for complementary reasons.

As a consequence, the second large segment of part three investigates Zadar's real estate markets and the involved property transactions. The source base comprises 1,772 individual instruments or slightly more than a quarter of all notarial acts stipulated and analysed for the period under survey. The following three main categories were analysed in detail, the vending, concessions, and rental markets.

Analysis of the *emptions* market, consisting of 1,067 contracts, revealed a number of basic facts. The interest of the nobility and the clergy in the buying and selling of real estate was rather low, as opposed to the members of the mercantile community who ended up buying roughly a third of all available parcels of land. Also, it may well be that increased Ottoman pressure from beyond the borders contributed to the dramatic price hikes during the timespan under survey. For instance, while property further away from Zadar's city walls lost almost half of its value, the land within the medieval *ager publicus* or *Astarea* more than doubled in price. Notwithstanding these developments, the nobility and the clergy were much more involved with the other two categories.

While the data for both the *concession*es (based on 478 instruments) and the *location*es (226 instruments) markets is significantly lower compared to the vending market, analysis of these contracts revealed that about two thirds of the conceded and leased property belonged to either the nobility or the clergy, the latter, again, comprising not only individuals but also convents and other ecclesiastical institutions. While their respective shares of the markets varied over the course of the three decades, their over-all control never waned. As a consequence, the much more attractive segments of the market – the turnover for the *location*es was roughly equivalent to the turnover in the vending market at about a fifth of the latter's size – were firmly and increasingly dominated by the upper social classes, verifying the tendencies of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁷ In general, follow Raukar, *Zadar u XV. stoljeću*, 71–196, Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 97–124, 227–74,

Part IV: Zadar's Urban Elites and their Daily Life

7. Zadar's Nobility

Venice's medieval expansion into the Aegean Sea where, as Sally McKee noted, a "very small Latin minority [defined] in a way few other fields can what was politically possible and culturally conceivable in the fourteenth century European Mediterranean."¹ The Serenissima's Cretan and Adriatic possessions were far away from each other, but the fundamental structures were comparably similar. All the differences between the two places notwithstanding, Venetian influence was not only visible within the cityscapes but also in comparable economic, legal, and social structures – and the notarial records. And while a number of editions of the Venetian directives and reports exist and are used throughout the present study, it is only the combination of both published government reports and unpublished notarial acts that reveals a lively picture much more in touch with the daily life of early modern Mediterranean society. As Sally McKee succinctly put it, "[the] government's records of its deliberations, proclamations, and court records provide a moving image (...), notarial records furnish the soundtrack of the city's bustle, thus bringing the scene closer to life than either set of sources would do on their own."²

In this regard, the fourth part of the present study attempts to bring the *imagery* – that is, the published secondary sources and – the more *musical* elements – notarial acts about the personal and quotidian life of those named in the former together. The reports written by Venice's governors, legates, and local military commanders provide for the names of a number of individuals of both noble and non-noble descent from Zadar and its subject jurisdiction upon which the subsequent case studies are based on. The second half, on the contrary, deals with those Jadertine habitants of particular interest not listed in the directives and reports, namely Venetians, Croats and the Jews of Zadar. The last section deals with the distribution of public

¹ McKee, "Women under Venetian Colonial Rule," 34.

² Ibid., 35.

and private spaces within the fortified city presenting a tentative assessment of the various distinct uses of the cityscape.

7.1. Mobility among the Nobility

Any discussion of ‘mobility’ among the Dalmatian nobility must also include its economic, geographic, and social dimensions. In many instances, the boundaries between these categories are blurry, however, there are some indications to be found in both published and unpublished sources. Over the course of the following pages, first the foundation established by Zadar’s customary body of law, published in the early 1560s, will be introduced. Second, the findings derived from analysis of relevant notarial acts – that is, of marriage contracts, dowry quitclaims, and related documents – are put into the context of the legal framework.

Before turning to the contemporary sources, it is further necessary to be reminded of the, “nexus of state power and personal influence“, that characterised Venice’s maritime possessions by, “an evolving combination of military force and negotiations for loyalty along the increasingly contested Venetian–Ottoman frontier.”³ Within this context, as Dennis Romano and John Martin suggest, existed room for “a certain degree of social mobility up and down the status hierarchies (...) characterized by remarkable geographical mobility.”⁴ And it is this combination of the former and the latter defining the over-all background of the following elaborations.

Apart from the Venetian presence in Zadar, the analytical combination of these two aspects reveals interesting facts. These include marriage behaviour and alliances between noble families of different geographical origins within the Adriatic, differences in social prestige among the Jadertine nobility, and the power of literacy in early modern Venice and its subject dominions. As pointed out by Neven Budak, an important aspect of urban nobility in late medieval and early modern Dalmatia was the integration of individuals from other noble families into Zadar’s aristocratic families. It is known that the Dalmatian nobility primarily chose their marital partners from other urban communities along the eastern seaboard of the Adriatic. The following exemplary cases contribute to the “clearer picture of the self-identity of the Dalmatian urban nobility to forge kinship ties with members of other elites.”⁵ Subsequently, exam-

³ O’Connell, *Men of Empire*, 12.

⁴ Romano and Martin, “Reconsidering Venice,” 21.

⁵ Budak, “Urban élites,” 197.

ples and, where possible, quantitative data will be given for these aspects of increased societal posture.

First, marriage behaviour and alliances. Zadar's communal law contains a number of relevant clauses: "De nuptiis, et quorum consilio filii masculi vel feminae debeant matrimonialiter aliis copulare."⁶ In all, four articles deal with the legal foundations of marriage irrespective of descent, dealing with the most pressing issues arising. It was not allowed to marry without parental consent without losing any dowry or inheritance rights⁷, but there existed a clause assuring the right to marry to offspring under the guardianship of the non-consanguineous family.⁸ In addition, if, for whatever reasons, daughters of twenty years of age (or older) were not married by then, they could marry without parental consent.⁹ And a mother, after her husband's death, could not marry a second time without the consent of her offspring.¹⁰ Furthermore, it is worth noting that the title dealing with dowry issues contain twice the number of chapters compared to the one establishing the legal framework of marriage itself.¹¹ It is followed by the definitions of legitimate offspring¹², the only issue subject to further amendments by the Venetian government. By the end of 1563, the four ducal councillors introduced a subsequently adopted motion to increase the control mechanisms of the birth rights of their fellow noblemen.¹³

After establishing the legal framework, let us now investigate the reality of Zadar's nobles and their marriage interactions and alliances. Within the period under consideration, a grand total of 656 individual instruments have been preserved within the notarial protocol books. Table 12 below gives a first overview about the numbers involved.

⁶ See Lib. III, tit. XIX: "De nuptiis, et quorum consilio filii masculi vel feminae debeant matrimonialiter aliis copulare," containing four chapters. Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 334–8.

⁷ This is clearly stated in lib. III, tit. XIX, cap. 90: "Quod si filia sub potestate patris existens matre vivente nupta fuerit praeter consensum patris, perdat partem, nisi per instrumentum iniuria sit remissa, et idem de filio." Ibid., 334.

⁸ As evidenced by Lib. III, tit. XIX, cap. 91: "Quomodo filius vel filia mortua matre in potestate patris existens, vel mortuo patre sit in protectione materna, se valeat maritare." Ibid., 336.

⁹ Of course, this could only happen subject to the consent of other relatives. See lib. III, tit. XIX, cap. 92: "Qualiter filia ad viginti annorum aetatem perventa, si eam pater vel mater neglexerit maritare, nubere possit. Ibid., 336.

¹⁰ See Lib. III, tit. XIX, cap. 93: "Quod mater transgressa ad secundas nuptias filios vel filias primi viri, absque voluntate et consensu ipsorum propinquorum, nequeat maritare." Ibid., 338.

¹¹ See Lib. III, tit. XX: "De iure dotium et de iure bonorum seu rerum acquistarum uxori ex quacumque causa constante matrimonio," containing eight chapters. Ibid., 338–344.

¹² Follow Lib. III, tit. XXI: "Qui filii sunt legitimi et qui non," especially cap. 102: "Quomodo filius natus ante contractum matrimonium ex muliere et viro absolutis legitimus habeatur," and cap. 103: "Quod per famam publicam aliquem fore alicuius filius comprobatur." Ibid., 346.

¹³ Eight days after the birth of the (male) child, all nobles were required to register their offspring in the communal chancellery. Ref., cap. 159: "Quod nobiles debeant facere scribere diem matrimonii sui sicut et diem natalem suorum filiorum." Ibid., 674.

Table 12: Marriage-related Contracts, Overview (1540 to 1569)

	no. of acts ^a	% of total ^b	Latin ^c	‘Italian’ ^d	mixed ^e	marriage ^f	quitclaims ^g
1540s	255	38.9 %	255	–	–	56	199
1550s	179	27.3 %	176	1	2	33	146
1560s	222	33.8 %	201	14	7	39	183
	656	100 %	632	15	9	128	528

Sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JM (1545–1569), JMM (1540–1554), MAS (1544–1548), NC (1558–1567), ND (1540–1566), PB (1540–1569), PS (1545–1551), SB (1556–1565), SM (1555–1567). In all, 656 individual contracts were analysed.

Table 12 gives an overview of the marriage-related instruments upon which the subsequent analysis is based. See also the appendix for more details.

- (a) Lists the over-all numbers of marriage-related instruments for the three decades from 1 January, 1540, to 31 December, 1569.
- (b) Lists the share of the single decades relative to the over-all number in the respective decades.
- (c) Lists the over-all number of individual instruments written in Latin corresponding to the relative decade. The bottom line gives the total number of notarial acts written in Latin.
- (d) Lists the over-all number of individual instruments written in the Venetian variant of the ‘Italian’ language corresponding to the relative decade. The bottom line gives the total number of notarial acts written in this language.
- (e) Lists the over-all number of individual instruments written in both Latin and the Venetian variant of the ‘Italian’ language.
- (f) The numbers given in this column include all individual instruments labelled *contractus matrimonium* or *contractus nuptiarum* (in both instances meaning marriage contract).
- (g) The numbers given in this column include all individual instruments labelled *carta dotis* (dowry card), *receptio dotis* (dowry receipt) or *quietatio dotis* (dowry quitclaim), all of which describe the same type of contract.

As is clearly visible, marriage and/or dowry-related contracts make up slightly less than ten percent of the over-all number of instruments the present study is based upon. For those aspects of interest here, more detailed analysis of the nobility’s marriage pattern is required. Thus, table 12.1 below provides more precise information about these issues, however, it is necessary to keep in mind that the following data, as opposed to the over-all number of contracts, is a sample in the following sense: Zadar’s nobles were required by law to register their legitimate male offspring with the communal chancellery¹⁴, hence it is likely that these books would provide additional data.

¹⁴ See Ref., cap. 159: “Quod nobiles debeant facere scribere diem matrimonii sui sicut et diem natalem suorum filiorum.” Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 674.

Table 12.1: Marriage Contracts and Dowry Quitclaims (1540 to 1569)

	no. of acts ^a	% of total ^b	marriage ^c	quitclaims ^d
1540s	23	26.1 %	9	14
1550s	34	38.6 %	8	26
1560s	31	35.2 %	10	21
	88	99.9 %	27	61

Sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JM (1545–1569), JMM (1540–1554), MAS (1544–1548), NC (1558–1567), ND (1540–1566), PS (1545–1551), SB (1556–1565), SM (1555–1567). In all, 88 individual contracts were analysed. Table 12.1 lists only those marriage-related contracts in which at least one of the involved parties was of aristocratic descent. Further details are given below but see also the appendix for more details.

- (a) Lists the over-all numbers of marriage-related instruments with respect to the noble descent of the constituent parties for the three decades from 1 January, 1540, to 31 December, 1569.
- (b) Lists the share of the single decades relative to the over-all number in the respective decades.
- (c) The numbers given in this column include all individual instruments labelled *contractus matrimonium* or *contractus nuptiarium* (in both instances meaning marriage contract).
- (d) The numbers given in this column include all individual instruments labelled *carta dotis* (dowry card), *concordium dotis* (dowry accord), *quietatio dotis* (dowry quitclaim), *receptio dotis* (dowry receipt) or *restitutio dotis* (dowry restitution).

The first and most obvious conclusion when comparing these two tables is that the nobility's percentage was 13.4 %, slightly higher than their relative share among the general populace which was about a tenth.¹⁵ More interesting, though, were the origins of the stipulating parties, shown in table 12.2 below.

Considering the numbers given, the most striking issue is the regularity pertaining to the origins of the stipulating parties. While, of course, the numbers for the individual decades vary here and there, the over-all tendency is clearly visible. Between a quarter and a third of both the constituent as well as the recipient parties in this particular context were from beyond the extent of Zadar's jurisdiction. As tables 12.1 and 12.2 above suggest, there existed a tendency suggesting the nobility's endogamous marriage behaviour could not possibly be confined to a single city along the eastern seaboard of the Adriatic. To be able to do this, the share of nobles from elsewhere who married into the society of, in this case, Zadar should have been much smaller to non-existent. As a consequence, especially those individuals of aristocratic descent but whose geographical background is different from central Dalmatia, move into the focus.

¹⁵ That is, roughly 600 individuals out of approximately 6,000 to 6,500 inhabitants in the 1550s. Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 261–2.

Table 12.2: Origins of both Contracting Parties, Overview (1540 to 1569)

	total ^a	Zadar ^b	Albania–Dalmatia ^c	Zadar ^d	Albania–Dalmatia ^e	n/a ^f
1540s	23	9	14	12	11	
1550s	34	25	9	23	11	
1560s	31	26	5	21	6	4
	88	60	28	56	28	4

Sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JM (1545–1569), JMM (1540–1554), MAS (1544–1548), NC (1558–1567), ND (1540–1566), PS (1545–1551), SB (1556–1565), SM (1555–1567). In all, 88 individual contracts were analysed. Table 12.2 lists only those contracts in which at least one of the involved parties was of aristocratic descent. Further details are given below. See also the appendix for more details.

(a) Lists the over-all numbers of marriage contracts and dowry quitclaims for the three decades from 1 January, 1540, to 31 December, 1569.

(b) Lists the number of constituent parties of Jadertine noble descent including five constituent parties from Nin/Nona (Nona).

(c) Lists the number of constituent parties originating within Venice's Albanian–Dalmatian double province, including Kotor/Cattaro (Catharo), Hvar/Lesina (Pharo, Lesina), Pag/Pago (Pago), Rab/Arbe (Arbe), Split/Spalato (Spalato), Šibenik/Sebenico (Sibenico), and Trogir/Traù (Tragurij); the total number of constituent parties from Albania is two.

(d) Lists the number of recipient parties originating within Jadertine jurisdiction.

(e) Lists the number of recipient parties originating within Venice's Albanian–Dalmatian double province, including Kotor/Cattaro (Catharo), Hvar/Lesina (Pharo, Lesina), Omiš/Almissa (Almissa), Rab/Arbe (Arbe), Šibenik/Sebenico (Sibenico), and Trogir/Traù (Tragurij); the total number of constituent parties from Albania is one.

(f) n/a gives the number of recipient parties from other places, two from Monfalcone, the other two were impossible to identify.

As a starting point, let us examine the fortunes of “domina Clara filia legitima, et naturalis spectabili domini Joannis Mazzarelli nobilis Traguritum Cancellarij spectabili Communitatis Jadre.” In early 1540, she married “dominus Georgius de Grisanis quondam domini Francisci nobilis Sibenicensis”, a fellow noble from, geographically speaking, in-between Trogir and Zadar. In addition to the size of her dowry of 800 ducats, this marriage leads to another important aspect, that of the distances involved. Johannes Mazzarellus, who was also Zadar's communal chancellor, originated from Trogir (Traù), a much smaller coastal community slightly less than 30 kilometres west of the city of Split (Spalato). For him, moving from the former to Zadar involved not only the geographical distance but, given his occupation as communal chancellor and notary public, probably also a qualitative increment of his stature within his (original) social status group.¹⁶

¹⁶ In three individual contracts from the first half of 1540, these three above-cited individuals appear dealing with the marriage of Georgius de Grisanis to Clara. Cf. AM I, 1, 1, B, stipulated on 19 January, 1540, 27 May, 1540, and 30 June, 1540.

On a side note, it is worth mentioning that Georgius de Grisanis died only a couple of years later, evidenced by the fact that his widow, Clara, married a second time. In spring of 1548, “excellens leges utriusque doctor dominus Hieronymus de Hermolais nobilis Arbensis” became the new son-in-law of Johannes Mazzarellus, even receiving 200 ducats more than Clara's first husband, elevating her dowry to the grand total of 1,000 ducats. Cf. MAS I, C, f15r, stipulated on 18 April, 1548, and PS I, 1, f7r/f7v, stipulated on 11 June, 1548.

Among the most prominent of these cases is a notarial instrument stipulated in December 1541 between “Magnificus dominus Franciscus Paladinus honorando sopracomitus Triremis pharensis (of Hvar, the author) ex una et Magnificus et Excellens doctor ac eques dominus Joannes Rosa nobilis Jadrensis.” The reason was that Franciscus daughter, “honesta damicella domina Cornelia eius filia legitima et naturalis“, was to marry the nobleman from Zadar. Both contracting parties were not just any other aristocrat but came from the higher echelons of their respective social status group. Franciscus, referred to as *sopracomes* (galley commander) of Hvar's galley and his family, according to the Venetian legates, deposited of roughly 500 ducats annual income.¹⁷ This, in turn, meant that he had the financial, military, and social means to provide for outfitting a warship, possibly elevating him above his fellow noblemen from Hvar.¹⁸ His son-in-law, Johannes Rosa (Ivan Rosa) and his family were named specifically to be among the most prominent and wealthy Jadertine nobles.¹⁹ In addition, he is referenced as *eques* (knight) and *leges utriusque doctor* (doctor of both laws) throughout the sources, suggesting his social posture was elevated compared to his fellow noblemen of Zadar. Testifying to the importance of both men, Franciscus promised Johannes a stately dowry totalling “*ducatos Mille ducentos auri ad rationem Librarum 6 solidorum 4 pro ducato*.” Of these, 400 ducats were to be paid in specie in addition to another 200 ducats “*in pannis sericis, auro, et argento*.” The rest of the dowry was to be paid in annual instalments of fifty ducats until the remainder was solved, i.e. over the subsequent decade. While the notarial instrument contains no further clues as to where Franciscus resided, the contract was drawn up in Zadar's St Michael's parish, “*in domo spectabili domini Petri Ciuallellj*.” In this example it appears not quite as clear as in the one before, who might have profited more from this marriage alliance, however, judging from the information provided for in the notarial instrument, it just might have been that Cornelia slightly increased her social posture. Again, as in the first example above, within their original social group.²⁰

Before turning to the marriage alliances within Zadar proper, the third example connects the central Dalmatian nobles with their fellow Jadertine aristocrats. In spring of 1553,

¹⁷ See the report of Johannes Baptista Justinian and Antonius Diedo, the Senate's legates in Albania and Dalmatia, dated 15 April, 1553, in Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 221.

¹⁸ As *sopracomes* (galley commander), Franciscus had at least four years of service experience and also bore the related expenditures for manning and recruitment of oarsmen, sailors, and soldiers as well as the costs of outfitting and upkeep of the warship. Lane, *Maritime Republic*, 365.

¹⁹ Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 197.

²⁰ For all the information in the paragraph above except where noted elsewhere, cf. JMM I, 2, 2, stipulated on 12 December, 1541.

“domina Coliza uxor quondam spectabili domini Georgij Dragoeuich Nobilis Sibenicensis“, after having secured the consent of her two sons, promised “dominus Petrus Antonius quondam Hieronymi de Ferra Nobilis Jadre“ her daughter’s hand. The latter was to marry “nobilis et honesta Domicella domina Philippa filia dictj quondam domini Georgij“, who brought with her an equally noble dowry of 1,100 ducats. In this case, the stately amount of money promised to the husband suggests that at least the family of the bride was quite well off, as opposed to their new in-laws. No amount of money in terms of a counter-dowry was mentioned in the marriage contract, but one other interesting fact. Philippa had a sister, “domina Margarita uxor [...] domini Bernardini [de Carnarutis, the author], et filie praefatae dominae Colice“, and payment of the outstanding rest of Philippa’s dowry was to be deferred until Bernardinus had received the rest of his wife’s dowry.²¹ In addition to a large dowry – the Ferra family is not mentioned prominently in the official Venetian reports and depositing of 100 to 300 ducats annual income²² –, Petrus Antonius de Ferra’s marriage allowed for closer ties with one of Zadar’s more prominent nobles, Bernardinus Carnarutus, who is most renown for his writings.²³ Because of both the size of the dowry and the kinship ties with one of Dalmatia’s foremost sixteenth-century writers, it can be assumed that this marriage increased the social posture of Petrus Antonius de Ferra, too.

Within the circles of the nobles of Zadar proper, the general rule around the mid-sixteenth century was a rather strictly endogamous marriage behaviour in terms of marrying within the same social group. The geographical differences between the various coastal cities and towns appeared to have played a somewhat minor rule, more important was the descent of wife or husband. In one respect, though, economic considerations trumped most others – in other words, if there was an opportunity to marry a fortune, it usually happened.

²¹ For the marriage contract between Petrus Antonius de Ferra and his wife, cf. JM I, 3, f8r, stipulated on 29 March, 1553.

²² Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 197.

²³ Bernardinus Carnarutus (Barne/Brne Karnarutić) fought under the command of Nikola Šubić Zrinski (Zrínyi Miklós), the Ban of Croatia, against the Ottomans in Hungary. While the former gave up soldiering in the mid-1540s, the latter died defending the city of Szigetvár (Siget) against the troops of Suleiman in 1566. Bernardinus Carnarutus is mostly known for his literary works, wrote both poems and prose in recognition of his gallant former commander. His book, *Vazetje Sigeta grada* [The Fall of Szigetvár] was the first Slavic epic to be written and was published in Venice in 1584. thanks to his writings, Bernardinus Carnarutus enjoyed close ties with the Ragusan Republic which, during the 16th century, was the foremost centre of Slavic-Croatian writing.

In addition to these literary ties, he also had more personal interests in contact with Dubrovnik – by marrying his illegitimate daughter, “Judita“, to “magister Nicolaus de Andreis de Ragusio“, a master-painter, and promising his son-in-law a dowry worth 250 ducats. For the reference the Ottoman siege of Szigetvár, see Fine, *When Ethnicity did not matter*, 197.

For the marriage contract of Bernardinus Carnarutus’ illegitimate daughter, cf. JM I, 1, 6, f25v, stipulated on 12 November, 1566.

The focus now shifts to those individuals of noble descent who did not marry someone from outside Zadar's jurisdiction. The first question arising is would the dowries involved in this constellation be of significantly lower value? And, in the light of the procuratorial network analysis and in relation to the examples above, did they facilitate or prevent communication between the various urban centres along the eastern seaboard of the Adriatic and the wider areas?

In summer of 1546, "Juvenis nobilis dominus Laurentius de Nassis quondam domini Joannis" gave away the hand of his sister, "nobilam dominam Catherinam praefati domini Laurentij sororem", to his fellow Jadertine nobleman, "dominus Vito de Cedolinis quondam domini Simonis." As the bride's father was already deceased, her brother promised his brother-in-law the sum of "Ducatos quadringenos quinquaginta unum auri ad rationem librarum 6 solidorum 4 pro quoque ducato." Of these, 120 ducats were actually still in the possession of a third person and Laurentius obliged himself in the marriage contract to redeem two pieces of property "nomine ipsius domini Viti et fratris eius e manibus ser Simonis de Grisogonis quondam domini Petri." One of these two parcels of land was located "prope Jadram in loco vocato Celopech, sive Orisaz", the other on the island of Lukoran (Lucorano) across the Canal of Zadar. The rest of the sum, 331 ducats, was to be handed over in mobile goods after the bride moved in with the groom. The contract itself was written "in domo domini Simonis de Matafaris alias Chrina quondam domini Petri" in Zadar's St Michael's parish, in the presence of the constituent's next-of-kin, "Nicolaus de Nassis consiliarius."²⁴ Obviously, the legality and validity of notarial acts was not affected by family ties between the auditing public officials and one of the constituent parties.

On another occasion in summer of 1557, "spectabilis dominus Bernardinus Galellus nobilis Jadre, ex una, et dominus Simon Ciualellus quondam domini Gregorii ex altera" came together to draw up a marriage contract. In the name of the Holy Spirit, Bernardinus agreed to let, "Honesta damicella domina Catherina eius filia", marry Simon. In addition to the hand of his daughter, the father of the bride promised his son-in-law a dowry of 800 ducats, of which

²⁴ For all the information in the paragraph above, cf. MAS I, C, f11v–f12v, stipulated on 24 August, 1546. Fortunately, Catherina's (nuncupative) testament is available, too. Her brother Laurentius and her husband Vitus are named her executors who should bury her "in ecclesia Sancte Mariae monialium," hinting at her preference for the Benedictines over both Dominicans and Franciscans alike. In addition, Catherina appeared to have been pregnant at the time her testament was written as she "Instituit, ac voluit filium, auf filiam, Sique essent aut for-ent" as her residual heir. Only after the eventual death of her child did she substitute Vitus to become her residual heir, on the condition, though, that he paid her beloved kinsman, "Donatus de Ciuallello" the sum of 50 ducats out of her dowry. Cf. PB II, 6, stipulated on 18 May, 1547.

one half was to be consigned “ad transductionem“, the second half was to be paid in annual instalments of 25 ducats. The contract itself was stipulated “in domo habitationis domini Zoyli de Nassis“, situated in Zadar’s St Michael’s parish.²⁵ A couple of years later, in January of 1558, the two contracting parties re-convened, this time “in apotheca domini Baptistae de Nassis nobili Jadre in plathea communis.“ The purpose of the second instrument was the issuing of a formal quietatio dotis (dowry quitclaim) by Simon Ciualellus who stated publicly “habuisse, et realiter cum effectu recepissee (...) ducatos quadringentos et unum ad rational librarum 6 solidorum 4 parvorum pro ducato, partim in denarijs et pecunia numerata, partim in auro, argento, perlis, et panis sericeis, partim in panis laneis et lineis et hoc in dotem (...).“ No future claims in terms of Catherina’s dowry could be made by Simon against his father-in-law from this moment onwards.²⁶

As third and final example of marriage alliances within Zadar proper is the case of “dominus Palladinus Ciualellus quondam spectabili domini Petri ex una, et dominus Paulus de Begna quondam domini Petri Nobilis Jadre ex altera.“ The former’s daughter, “honesta damicella domina Thomasina“, agreed to marry Paulus, who was to receive a dowry worth 500 ducats. As in the example above, 200 ducats were to be consigned in specie, another 100 ducats in mobile goods. The remaining amount was to be paid in rates of twenty ducats per annum. Stipulated and validated “in domo spectabili domini Hieronymi Ciualelli“ in Zadar, on 13 December, 1565.²⁷

As these few examples amply illustrate, there were no major differences between the marriage alliances contracted within Zadar’s jurisdiction compared to those involving other members of the Dalmatian nobility originally from within the Venetian dominions along the coast. The form, structure, and terminology of the notarial instruments involved – contractus matrimonium/nuptiarium (marriage contract), instrumentum/receptio/quietatio dotis (dowry instrument/reception/quitclaim) – is the same. This, too, appeared to have been the case as regards the self-conception of urban elite of aristocratic descent along the oriental littoral of the Adriatic, as evidenced by the many marriages between nobles from Zadar with their coun-

²⁵ “(...) ducatos ducentos in pecunia numerata, et ducatos ducentos in tot rebus extimandis de comuni concordio (...)“ For all the information as regards the marriage contract in the paragraph above, cf. DC I, 1, 2, f42v/f43r, stipulated on 7 July, 1555.

²⁶ For all the information pertaining to the quitclaim, cf. DC I, 1, 5, f45v, stipulated on 27 January, 1558.

²⁷ For all the information as regards the contract, cf. SM I, 1, 11, f24r/f24v, stipulated on 13 December, 1565.

terparts from Hvar (Faro/Lesina), Kotor (Cattaro), Nin (Nona), Pag (Pago), Rab (Arbe), Šibenik (Sebenico), Trogir (Traù), Split (Spalato), and Omiš (Almissa).

Two more questions remain to be addressed in this context. First, what about the nobility of Dalmatia's hinterlands under Venetian suzerainty? And, second, how many of the then-present Venetians did engage in marriage alliances and with whom? In order to provide at least cursory answers, two aspects need to be considered here before turning to the sources. As regards the nobles from Zadar's hinterlands, it is necessary to keep in mind that 'hinterland' here means 'from within Jadertine jurisdiction.' This begs further discussion of these relations along as well as across the Venetian–Ottoman borders. Roughly from 1500 onwards, the territory under the control of the various Dalmatian coastal cities shrank considerably, culminating in the re-demarcation of the borders in the aftermath of the Cyprus War during the 1570s.²⁸ While the Venetians did not set up any specific organisational framework to counter the growing Ottoman threats at first²⁹, large parts of the rural population fled the increasing insecurity caused by the intruders and receding borders.³⁰ Soon after all but reaching the shorelines in the wake of the Cyprus War³¹, the subsequently established Ottoman provincial administration wasted little time to integrate and re-settle the new conquests into their

²⁸ See Traljić, "Tursko–mletačko susjedstvo," 418–9, Traljić, "Tursko–mletačke granice," 451–3, and Knapton, "Stato da Mar," 330.

²⁹ While Ottoman expansion in Dalmatia ended with the Cyprus War and the subsequent re-demarcation of the borders during the 1570s by Ferhat Pasha, separating the rural population from their fields, forests, pasturelands, and vineyards, further adding to the economic–agricultural difficulties. Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 105, 143.

³⁰ In the wake of the Ottoman advance towards the coastline, only settlements with at least some form of fortification, often this meant guard/watch towers, could be inhabited. These places included Preko (Oltre), Pag (Pago), and the islet of Vir (Puntadura). Further contributing to the over-all situation was the fall of Novigrad (Novegradi) to the Ottomans, causing the population to either seek refuge in the mentioned fortified places or emigrate altogether across the Adriatic. Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 27, 105–6, but see also Anzulović, "O opstojnosti hrvatskog pučanstva," 305, Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 379–80, and Traljić, "Nin pod udarom," 532.

³¹ As noted by Gianbattista Michiel, former count of Zadar, in his report dated 27 March, 1586, who noted that, for instance, the border ran only some $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile away from Sukošan (Porto d'Oro/San Cassiano), a coastal village only ca. 12 kilometres away from Zadar proper. Also, the former Venetian official mentioned many depopulated villages in the hinterland. See Ljubić and Novak, *Commissiones*, vol. 4, 370–78, and Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 372.

jurisdiction.³² Nonetheless, given the insecurity in the hinterlands and the Ottoman pressure, it is not very surprising that the connections between the rural and the urban nobility was all but inexistent, especially considering the shrinking territory under Venetian control over the course of the sixteenth century. And since the interests of the Republic of St Mark mostly revolved around keeping the naval connections open³³, it is conceivable that the documentable connections between Zadar and the Croatian–Hungarian interior regions were of correspondingly little importance. This is noticeable by the small number of notarial instruments documenting these connections (or the lack thereof), as discussed above.

The second aspect is closely related to the first one as the shrinking territory under Venetian control meant also that fewer positions overseas could be given to members of the Republic's patriciate.³⁴ The re-orientation of the Venetian economy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries away from long-distance maritime trade contributed further to Dalmatia's loss of importance of an already peripheral and, as a consequence of Venice's economic policies enacted during the preceding century³⁵, marginalised part of the *Stato da mar*.³⁶ At the same time increasing pressure from the Ottoman Empire reduced not only the number of inhabited villages in Zadar's jurisdiction but also the number of available positions – and with that the potential interest of Venetian patricians to move to central Dalmatia. As a consequence, the number of individuals belonging to the body politic of the Republic of St Mark and its increasingly endogamous marriage behaviour³⁷ was very small, and the number of marriage alliances between them and the local nobility was even lower.

³² In general, follow Panciera, "Frontiera dalmata," 783–804, but see also Jakšić, *Hrvatski srednjovjekovni krajobrazi*, 206–7.

In the aftermath of the war from 1537 to 1541, the Ottomans set-up the Klis Sandjak (or Sandžak), after the Cyprus War the establishment of the Krka Sandjak followed suit and its jurisdiction extended over the immediate hinterlands of Šibenik, Trogir, and Zadar. Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 25, in more detail see Fehim Dž. Spaho, "Prilog istoriji grada Islama u Ravnim kotarima u XVII stoljeću [Addition to the history of the town of Islam in Ravnı Kotari in the 17th century]," *Zadarska revija* 24 (1993): 354 (353–362).

For the continuation of settlement after the Cyprus War carried out by the Ottomans in general, see Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 109–10.

For the then-established caravanserai (or han) in the ruins of the fortifications of Vrana, destroyed in the war of 1537 to 1541, see Boško Desnica, "Jusuf Mašković i njegov han u Vrani [Jusuf Mašković and his Han in Vrana]," in *Stojan Janković i uskočka Dalmacija* [Stojan Janković and Uskok Dalmatia], ed. Boško Desnica (Belgrade: Srpska Književna Zadruga, 1991), 29–37.

³³ Raukar, "Društvene strukture," 103.

³⁴ The dependence of low-ranking patricians from Venice on a multitude on public offices has been noted elsewhere, follow especially Cozzi, "Authority and the Law," 325–27, Doumerc, "Dominio del mare," 167–68, and Queller, *Venetian Patriciate*, 51–112.

For the strategies employed by these patricians to obtain these public offices, O'Connell, *Men of Empire*, 57–74.

³⁵ In general, Raukar, *Zadar u XV. stoljeću*, and Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 97–124, 227–74.

³⁶ For general overviews, follow Budak, "Urban élites," 186, but see also Doumerc, "Dominio del mare," 173–8.

³⁷ See, for instance, the studies by Stanley Chojnacki and Jutta Sperling referenced above.

In general terms, Venetians appear in only 120 out of the more than 6,000 individual contracts surveyed for the present study.³⁸ Many – almost all of them – were on duty in Zadar, in turn suggesting that incentives for them to actually move to central Dalmatia other than public service were in all but a few cases non-existing. Consequently, there are only three references to Venetian patricians in the context of marriage alliances, the most important of them was “ser Georgius de Venerio quondam ser Georgij Civis Jadre“, who was a member of the Jader-tine branch of the Venier family.³⁹ In December of 1542, he confirmed the receipt of the dowry of his wife, “domina Nicolota filia legitima et naturali quondam domini Simonis Coreuich olim notarius et civis Jadre.“ Here, too, a difference to the Dalmatian nobility in terms of the amount of money transferred via the dotal instrument is not visible. The quietatio dotis (dowry quitclaim) mentions a dowry worth “librarum 3,029 parvorum“, a sum roughly equivalent to 490 ducats, in both immobile and mobile goods.⁴⁰

On the other two occasions, the mentioned Venetians, “dominus Marcus Antonius Laretanus (Loredan, the author) quondam Magnifici domini Jacobi patritij veneti“ and “dominus Hieronymus de Mosto quondam magnifici domini Joannis Francisci“, were not even mentioned in the reports by any rector or captain. The former issued a quitclaim for a dowry worth “librarum 641 solidorum 14 parvorum“ (roughly equivalent to 103 ducats), he received together with the hand of his wife, “Helysabeth“ (...) a ser Joanne Anzolerio civi et habitatore Jadra.“ The latter – Hieronymus da Mosto – is referenced as “habitor Novigradi“ whilst issuing another quitclaim for the 150 ducats he received as dowry of “Sancta filia domini Vendramini de Brissia habitat, ut dixit, Padue, eius uxor.“⁴¹ These two other cases, however, do not reveal much information other than, for whatever unknown reasons, Venetian patricians lived in central Dalmatia, this did not reduce the range of their activities very much. Although

³⁸ Some names appear more than once and on many occasions they appear as procurators for business dealings and/or payment collection in Venice because they were already known to head back to the capital, for instance a patrician whose tour of duty as captain or rector ended was known to return to Venice. One example thereof was “Magnificus, et celeberrimus dominus Marcus Antonius Priolus olim capitaneus Jadre dignissimus“ who appointed the afore-mentioned “excellentem Doctorem, et equitem dominum Joannem Rosa“ to server as his procurator generalis.“ Cf. NC I, 1, f20v/f21r, stipulated on 9 November, 1558.

Also, many of those Venetian patricians appearing in the sources were on shore and/or otherwise affiliated with the Venetian military, thus it is necessary to view the number of 120 with caution. What can be stated, though, is that the appearance of Venetian patricians in the sources was marginal.

³⁹ See, for instance, their mentioning by Venice's governors: Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 172, but see also Anzulović, “O opstojnosti hrvatskog pučanstva,” 271, Knapton, “Stato da Mar,” 332–5, and Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 102–3.

⁴⁰ Cf. JMM I, 2, 2, stipulated on 22 December, 1542.

⁴¹ For Marcus Antonius Lauretanus, cf. DC I, 1, 3, f32r, stipulated on 11 January, 1556, for Hieronymus da Mosto, cf. SM I, 1, 12, stipulated on 30 April, 1567.

it may be noted that the dowry in the two cases above was significantly lower than the sums involved with either the Dalmatian nobility as well as the Jadertine branch of the Venier family.

Another aspect of interest were the (admittedly) few instances in which connections between the coast and the Croatian–Slavonian interior areas appear in the sources, two of these concern the following procuratorial instruments. One is the above–referenced document in which Simon de Begna tasked Baptista Besalius to retrieve the body of his deceased brother and his belongings “in partibus Ungaria, et Croatia.”⁴² The second document concerns “nobilis Juvenis Sibenicensis dominus Melchior Cossirich domini Jacobi ex quondam domina Magdalena filia quondam Comitis Goergij Bencouich nobilis Crouatia de Plauno” (Plavno). Furnished with his father’s consent, Melchior appointed “dominam Helenam Bencouichiam filiam suprascripti quondam comitis Georgij” to be his procurator. The reason for the stipulation of this document in summer of 1559 was to obtain all outstanding goods and amounts of money out of “quondam dominae Magdalенаe eius materteram” (mother’s sister) inheritance. The appointee was to journey “infra fines Regni Hungariae” to meet with his late aunt’s husband and retrieve Melchior’s share of goods and money contained in the inheritance from “Comitis Stephani Crouat modo ut dixit in comitatu Zagabriensis” (Zagreb).⁴³

Notwithstanding the interesting fact that the second document was stipulated at the request of a nobleman from Šibenik but written in Zadar, the very few documents relating to the Croatian–Hungarian interior regions suggest that there were little connections between the Venetian dominions along the coast and the wider hinterlands that we know of. Things were not much different, though, once one considers the more immediate hinterlands under the jurisdiction of the various coastal communes in the context of marriage alliances. While such connections appear to have been all but inexistent during the period under investigation in the present study, the general lack of comparative data renders such assumptions highly problematic. As far as Zadar’s jurisdiction is concerned, only two dotal instruments reveal any clues about the existence of marriage connections between the rural and the urban nobility.

⁴² Cf. ND I, 2, 1, f13r–f14r, stipulated on 8 January, 1556.

⁴³ For all the information as regards the contract, cf. SB I, 1, 3, f189r, stipulated on 2 July, 1559.

One of these two contracts⁴⁴ details the events which took place between “dominum Gabrielem Cernotta nobilem Arbensis (Rab, the author) uti procuratorem et eo nomine domine Margaritae eius uxoris filiae quondam comitis Nicolai de Possedaria.” On 1 June, 1553, the nobleman of Rab and notary public in Zadar Gabriel Cernotta married the daughter of one of the rural nobles from Posedarje (Possedaria), a small fortified village within Zadar's jurisdiction. Subsequently, acting on behalf of his wife, he confirmed the receipt of a dowry obligation worth 250 ducats to settle all outstanding claims.⁴⁵ Stipulating on behalf of his brother was “Vido Posedaria” who appeared in the report by the Venetian Senate's legates in Albania and Dalmatia in early 1553 as one of the Serenissima's cavalry commanders.⁴⁶ Again, as was the case with the above-referenced Jadertine nobles, Vido's social posture within the socio-political framework of Venice's dominion was large enough to be named in official government reports. In addition, the marriage between his niece (Vido is referenced as “ipsius dominam Margaritam patrum”, her father's brother) and the nobleman from Rab probably strengthened the position of both contracting parties within Zadar's social fabric – as both were, legally speaking, foreigners.⁴⁷

Analysis of marriage behaviour based upon notarial instruments promises to reveal a wide variety of interesting details about the composition of the Dalmatian nobility during the early modern period. However, the data and examples given above can only be considered to provide preliminary information about certain tendencies. The lack of reasonably large amounts

⁴⁴ The second of these two contracts involved “Comes Gregorius Paladinich quondam Comitis Gasparis nobilis Croatiae,” who confirmed the receipt of “libras sexcentas viginti parvorum”, again, partially in specie and partially in mobile goods. His wife, “domine Mariete eius uxoris”, was the daughter of the late Marcus Antonius de Bassano, the father of one of Zadar's notary publics quoted extensively throughout the present study, Petrus de Bassano. And while the sources remain unclear about whether or not the de Bassano family was of noble descent, this dotal instrument clearly indicates that the position of *causidicus* (Marcus Antonius was an attorney) and/or *notarius publicus* brought with it enough social posture to enable its holders to marry upwards. Cf. ND I, 1, A, f35v/f36r, stipulated on 21 January, 1540.

⁴⁵ Interestingly and conversely to the other marriage contracts, this contract specifically mentions this dowry obligation “pro Integrali et finali Satisfactione et persolutione (...) bonorum paternorum, maternorum, Avitorum et aliorum quorumcumque dicta dominae Margaritae.” Cf. DC I, 1, 8, 2, f35r–f36r, stipulated on 6 May, 1560. Most other dotal and/or marriage contracts – and most of the testaments of Zadar's nobility, too, for that matter – omit these parts referring explicitly to the bride's “rightful share of the patrimony (...) an indisputable right to a dowry.” Chojnacki, “Dowries and Kinsmen,” 575.

⁴⁶ Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 191.

⁴⁷ Both, Gabriel and the counts of Posedarje are referred to as “nobilis”, however, since all of Zadar's nobles were required to register their legal offspring with the communal chamber, these individuals could not have been from within Zadar's nobility and are not mentioned as having been so. Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 261–2.

As a consequence, all other nobles, despite their aristocratic provenance, were, at least legally speaking, outsiders. For the reference in Zadar's statutes, see Ref., cap. 159: “Quod nobiles debeant facere scribere diem matrimonii sui sicut et diem natalem suorum filiorum.” Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 674.

For all the information as regards the contract, cf. DC I, 1, 8, 2, f35r–f36r, stipulated on 6 May, 1560.

of comparative studies remain the single greatest weakness of the aspects discussed above.⁴⁸ While many studies about the Venetian body politic, its marriage behaviour, and other related issues exist⁴⁹, their numbers stand in stark contrast to the focus of scholarly attention devoted to the oriental littoral of the Adriatic.⁵⁰ Again, as noted on many occasions throughout the present study, the picture of Dalmatia's urban elites remains, at best, cursory. As a consequence, particularly the examples cited in this fourth part provide, by no means, any more or less definitive overview.

Dissecting the data presented above, (at least) two tendencies of interest can be identified. The former of these indications regards the differences between dowry sizes and the marriage behaviour of Zadar's nobility. As far as the little data available and surveyed in this study permits, little if any significant distinctions were found between the various actors from both within and outside the Jadertine commune. No large-scale discrepancies in dowry sizes and/or the probability of marriage alliances between the various actors from all over the oriental littoral of the Adriatic were identified. Among the most interesting facts this initial analysis revealed is that dowry sizes involved usually tend to be about as large (or even larger) as the annual income of the involved parties as described by Venice's legates around the mid-sixteenth century.⁵¹ In this particular context, one cause of this facet may have been the fact that – as shown in more detail in part three – the property market was firmly in the hands of the nobility and the clergy. This holds especially true if the concessions and rental markets are taken into account which contributed significantly to the annual income of the landowners not only in terms of steady payments but also in terms of the reliability of medium to long-term payment obligations.

The latter issue regards the origins of the contracting parties and attempts to put it into the context of the other set of data. While most individuals marrying into Zadar's nobility were of

⁴⁸ For exemplary remarks about female testaments in Venice's maritime state, see McKee, "Women under Venetian Colonial Rule," 41, and Grbavac, "Testamentary Bequests," 68–9, as well as the references to Stanley Chojnacki, Linda Guzzetti, and Jutta Sperling provided above.

⁴⁹ Exemplary references as regards Venice proper include the works by Stanley Chojnacki, Ellen Kittel, Sally McKee, and Jutta Sperling referenced above. For a recent introductory overview, see Romano and Martin, "Reconsidering Venice," 22–7, for an overview pertaining to the standardised formulae, follow Guzzetti, *Venezianische Vermächtnisse*, 22–8, 56–61.

⁵⁰ The picture is less clear-cut when it comes to the Adriatic components of Venice's maritime possessions, among the most recent publications is the article by Branka Grbavac, the general overview in Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 227–74, as well as Zdenka Janeković-Römer, "Pro anima mea et predecessorum meorum: The Death and the Family in 15th Century Dubrovnik," *Otium* 3 (1995): 25–34.

⁵¹ The Venetian legates Johannes Baptista Justiniano and Antonius Diedo reported that only the richest three families – the Tetricus, Rosa, and Civallelli families – disposed of annual incomes between 500 and 700 ducats, all other families earned between 100 and 300 ducats per year. Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 197.

equally aristocratic descent, the notaries public did mention the origins of these 'foreigners' distinctively. All of these nobles, too, are referred to as "nobilis" – but usually in combination with additional information about their geographical provenance. These indications do not allow for qualitatively assessing the attractiveness of marriage alliances between, for instance, noble families from Zadar and the wider Croatian–Slavonian hinterlands. What the data suggests, though, is that about a quarter of the roughly 600 members of Zadar's nobility⁵² had family ties to places from ranging from Kotor to the Kvarner Gulf. And while upward/downward social mobility appeared to have played only a minor role in the marriage behaviour of Dalmatia's sixteenth-century urban elites, incremental qualitative increase of both posture and status within their original social group appeared to have been more common and likely. This tendency can be witnessed by, for instance, the two discussed members of the Mazzarellus family of Trogir (Traù) who not only moved from a very small town to the province's capital but also became Zadar's communal chancellor.⁵³

The combination of these findings with the analysis of the procuratorial connections suggest, in turn, that these kinship ties extended over a wide area, more or less circumscribed by but not confined to Venice's Adriatic possessions. It may be even argued that this "remarkable geographical mobility" was, *mutatis mutandum*, similarly defined by but not ultimately confined to the dominions of the Republic of St Mark, not only to be found within Venice proper.⁵⁴

⁵² Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 261–2.

⁵³ As discussed earlier above, 16th-century population estimates are hard to come by. In 1527, from which the first more or less reliable data is available, former captain of Zadar Petrus Vallaresso gave the number of 6,903 people in the city and 1,148 for the suburbs. Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 1, 194–223, especially pages 203–223. In 1553 the two above-mentioned Venetian legates Johannes Baptista Giustiniano and Antonio Diedo put the population of Zadar proper at 6,536 souls, among them 1,389 able-bodied men, while Trogir and its subject territory combined comprised circa 5,000 inhabitants. The city of Trogir proper comprised about 300 able-bodied men. If the same approximate relation of able-bodied men to the rest of the population as in Zadar is assumed (circa 21 % of the general populace were able-bodied men), then Trogir proper may have had around 1,500 inhabitants. At this point it is necessary to stress that the number for Trogir is an estimate (and a very crude one, at best). For the numbers upon which these estimates here are based, see Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 198, 208. One a related note, it is worth pointing out that these discrepancies in importance are still perfectly visible today. According to the official 2001 census figures, for instance, Trogir's population was about 13,000 individuals while Zadar had almost 73,000 inhabitants.

The 2001 census figures were retrieved from the homepage of the Croatian Bureau of Statistics (CBS). For the statistical data pertaining to Trogir, see the "Population Contingents, by towns/municipalities, Census 2001," Državni zavod za statistiku [Central Bureau of Statistics, CBS, accessed 3 November, 2010, http://www.dzs.hr/Eng/censuses/Census2001/Popis/E01_01_02/e01_01_02_zup17.html.

For the corresponding numbers relating to Zadar, see "Population Contingents, by towns/municipalities, Census 2001," Državni zavod za statistiku [Central Bureau of Statistics, CBS, accessed 3 November, 2010, http://www.dzs.hr/Eng/censuses/Census2001/Popis/E01_01_02/e01_01_02_zup13.html.

⁵⁴ The quoted reference is from Romano and Martin, "Reconsidering Venice," 21.

7.2. Aspects of Material Culture

Other than being very devout and loyal towards the Most Serene Republic, Zadar's nobility has been described as rather poor by her legates, especially compared to Venice proper. Their wealth was not much, ranging only from annual incomes of 400 to 700 ducats in the Tetrici, Rosa, and Civallelli families to much less. Despite being very poor, the other fourteen Jader-tine noble families lived, dwelled, and clothed themselves *all'Italiana*, which was attributed to their regular contacts with individuals from the Apennine peninsula.⁵⁵ By now, scholarly research into the the self-representation of Venice's ruling body politic has established a reliable framework for further scientific study of her dominions as well.⁵⁶ There is still a lot unknown as regards the symbology of the nobility, the display of their status, and their usage of symbolic (re-) presentation, apart from more recent investigations pertaining to the Republic of Dubrovnik and the island of Rab.⁵⁷ The apparent lack of illustrative sources may, as argued

⁵⁵ Zadar's nobles have been described by Johannes Baptista Giustiniano and Antonio Diedo in 1553 as follows: "La ricchezza di questi nobili non è molta, perchè la maggior intrada, che sia fra loro, è di ducati quattrocento, cinquecento et fino settecento, come li Tetrici, Rosa, Civallelli, et altri, ch'hanno ducati cento d'entrata, ducento e fino trecento. E sono di questi nobili molti poverissimi, i costumi dei quali sono quasi italiani, perchè la maggior parte de nobili vive, favella et veste all'usana d'Italia, il che forse avviene per la frequenza de forestieri, nobili veneziani, generali, proveditori, capitani, sopracomiti et altri, che vi praticano continuamente." Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 197.

To put this report into a broader perspective, this situation (or variations thereof) were described by Johannes Baptista Giustiniano and Antonio Diedo literally all across Venice's dominions along Dalmatia's oriental littoral. See also Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 191 (Koper/Capodistria), 197 (Zadar/Zara), 204–5 (Šibenik/Sebenico), 208 (Trogir/Traù), 215 (Split/Spalato).

Only in Albania did this change – the legates wrote of "costumi barbari, parlano lingua albanese tutta differente dalla Dalmatia." Ibid., 227 (Ulcinj/Dulcigno), and 231 (Bar/Antibari/Antivari).

⁵⁶ Recent historiography provides a vast amount of studies on the topics of material culture, private lives, and the self-representation of Venice's body politic. Good starting points for future investigations are the overview given by Romano and Martin, "Reconsidering Venice," 22–7, but follow also the much more detailed contribution of Patricia Fortini Brown to the same volume which includes extensive bibliographical references: Patricia Fortini Brown, "Behind the Walls: The Material Culture of Venetian Elites," in *Venice Reconsidered. The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297–1797* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 2000), 295–338.

More detailed studies about the private lives in Venice are Patricia Fortini Brown, *Private Lives in Renaissance Venice: Art, Architecture, and the Family* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2004), Patricia Fortini Brown, *Art and Life in Renaissance Venice* (New York: Abrams, 1997).

For recent re-evaluations of Pompeo Molmenti's detailed study of Venetian cultural life follow Giuseppe Pavanello, ed., *L'enigma della modernità: Venetia nell'età di Pompeo Molmenti* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2006), for a biography of Pompeo Molmenti, including bibliographical references, see Monica Donaglio, *Un esponente dell'élite liberale: Pompeo Molmenti: Politico e storico di Venezia* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2004).

⁵⁷ A cursory overview about the the symbology of the urban nobility in late medieval and early modern Dalmatia can be found in Budak, "Urban élites," 197–9.

As regards Dubrovnik and the literature about it not referenced above, Neven Budak refers to two theses (unavailable to the author) about the Ragusan patriciate, Zdenka Janeković-Römer, "Dubrovačko plemstvo u XV. stoljeću [Dubrovnik's Nobility in the 15th century] (PhD diss., Sveučilište u Zagrebu, 1997), and Dušan Mlacović, "Družbeni i ekonomski odnosi na Rabu v anžujski dobi 1358–1409: Nobiles et populares [On the social and economic relations in Rab under the Angevin rule, 1358–1409: Nobiles et populares]" (M.A. diss., Filozofska fakulteta Univerza v Ljubljani, 1997). Both references can be accessed in Budak, "Urban élites," 189, 197.

More recently, for the history of Rab (Arbe) and its patriciate, including recent bibliographical references, follow Dušan Mlacović, *Gradani plemići: Pad i upson iga plemstva* [Citizens and Nobles: The Rise and Fall of the Nobility] (Zagreb: Leykam international, 2008), 202–88.

for by Neven Budak, be ultimately overcome by the “abundance of written sources (e.g., wills and inventories), but a systematic study would require work surpassing the powers of any individual.”⁵⁸ Consequently, the following details about the nobility's material culture is by no means complete and thus not more than a starting point for future research.

By starting with the information provided for by Venice's legates about the wealthiest three families in mid-sixteenth century Zadar, the testaments of female members⁵⁹ of the Tetrico, Civallello, and other families take centre stage (cf. also part three).

⁵⁸ He then continues to state: “Such an investigation should also include the education acquired by patrician youth, which was, as it seems, not as good as the knowledge possessed by ambitious commoners, for whom it was a means of vertical social mobility.” Budak, “Urban élites,” 199.

Only few instruments explicitly refer to higher education among the nobility, the involved individuals were the sons of Federicus Grisogonus (Federik Grisogono), a medical doctor and professor at the University of Padua: In autumn of 1555, “Reverenda domina dor Marchetta [Grisogona, the author] Monialis professa in monasterio Sanctae Mariae Jadrensis ordinis Sancti Benedicti,” donated 200 ducats to her late brother's sons, “dominis Hieronimo et Julio, ad praesens in Patavino Gimnasio existentibus.” The two beneficiaries were absent but their brother, Pompeius, was present and accepted the donation on behalf of his absent brothers. Cf. SM I, 1, 1, stipulated on 11 November, 1555.

In the late 1550s, “dominus Pompeius Chrysogonus quondam excellentis domini Federici artium et medicinae doctoris nobilis Jadrensis agens nomine proprio ac nomine et vice dominorum Hieronymi et Julij fratrum suorum modo in Ghymnasio patavino studentium (...)” rented all their jointly possessed salt pans “in valle Pagi in confinio Sancti Joannis de Cangerich” to “Reverendo domino Joanni Ifcich canonico pagensis.” For the annual payment of 230 libras parvorum, the canon leased the entire income of the salt pans for the duration of five years, commencing on the day of the writing of the contract. Cf. SB I, 1, 1, f44v/f45r, stipulated on 24 April, 1557.

⁵⁹ As men tended to leave money to their heirs and successors, the testaments of women are proven to be more suited for analyses pertaining to material culture. Chojnacki, “Patrician Women,” 190–3, Chojnacki, “Dowries and Kinsmen,” Janeković–Römer, *Rod i grad*, 77–89, and Stuard, *State of Deference*, 69–80.

Mostly, this was done because women could depose of most of their possessions only through their testaments and wills. Their property consisted mostly of mobile goods as landed property was usually transferred through the male line. See Grbavac, “Testamentary Bequests,” 68–9, but see also Janeković–Römer, *Rod i grad*, 89–93, and Stuard, *State of Deference*, 100–14.

The first document in question is the testament⁶⁰ of “Nobilis Matrona domina Felicita uxor spectabilis domini Francisci Tetrici nobilis Jadrensis“, who was the daughter of “quondam domini Nicolai Buchia nobilis Catarensis“ (Kotor).⁶¹ Among the first clauses is her provision to be buried in the Franciscan’s church⁶², followed by donations to their church, dedicated to St Francis (Sv Frane). For the ornaments in their church, Felicita ordered her husband to hand over the following mobile goods, “unam vestem ex veluto rubeo, Item alteram vestem ex damascheno rubeo, teriam quoque ex raso rubeo Cum balzana veluti niridis, Item unam Schufiam rachamatam perlis, et Sufultam Seriem pannazia, Item unum par manicharum longarum ex veluto rubeo, Item unam filciam perlarum de conto ad numerarum perlarum Centum quinquaginta In 13 dozeris Cum Collonellis argenti aureati, Item unum pendentem ex argento aureatum Cum perlas quatuor et petra rubea In medio, Item unum pomolum ex argento labo-rato de truncafillo (...).“ The listing continues for another couple of lines, including additional

⁶⁰ In general, Latin Christians in the late Middle Ages composed testaments for a wide variety of reasons and Zadar’s noblewomen constituted no exception of that rule and behaved in the same fashion; also, the right to compose a testament was considered to be among the fundamentals, even referenced in Jadertine statutory law, Lib. III, tit. XXIII: “De testamentis et quemadmodum testamenta debeant ordinari,” containing 11 chapters. Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 348–56.

For the explicit right to compose a testament, see Lib. III, tit. XXIII, cap. 105: “Quod cuicumque liceat sua propria manu scribere suum testamentum et noto sigillo ac deponere in locis in statuto contentis.” Ibid., 348.

Accordingly, everyone had also the right to disinherit her or his own children as well as to amend one’s testament. For the relevant passages in Zadar’s communal law, see Lib. III, tit. XXIV: “De exhereditate liberorum,” comprising two chapters, and Lib. III, tit. XXV: “De codicillis,” consisting of a single chapter. Ibid., 356–8 for the former, and 358 for the latter.

Medieval testaments were mainly composed to ensure eternal salvation, their main reasons were religious, as argued for by Philippe Ariès. In addition, his notion that the early modern motivation was more secular tentatively holds true for Zadar, as the examples given suggest. Branka Grbavac found that to have been true for 14th-century Jadertine testamentary bequests by noblewomen which mainly revolved around the organisation of funerals and other religion-centred issues. See Philippe Ariès, *Western Attitudes toward Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1974), 63, and Grbavac, “Testamentary Bequests,” 69–70.

As regards 16th-century Zadar, virtually all testaments of both nobles and commoners alike still included clauses destining at least a symbolic eleemosynary to charitable institutions like the lazarettum pestiferorum or the reliquary casket of St Simeon.

⁶¹ As evidenced by the naming of “venerabila domina sorori Helisabeth monialj Catharj et sororj ipsius testatricis“ who received 5 ducats, indicating that Felicita came from Kotor. Cf. ND IV, 8, no. 2, stipulated on 27 April, 1539.

Another document, Felicita’s quietatio dotis (dowry quitclaim) from late 1555 proves that her father, the late Nicolaus Buchia (or “Guchia“, as write the Venetian legates Johannes Baptista Giustiniano and Antonio Diedo in 1553), a nobleman of Kotor. For the report, see Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 246, for the reference to Felicita’s dowry, cf. SM I, 1, 1, stipulated on 18 November, 1555.

⁶² “(...) Item voluit Cadaver suum sepeliri debere In ecclesia venerabilium fratrum minarum ordinis Sancti Francisci de Observantia Jadre, In Capella dicti domini Francisci eius mariti In Sepulcro In ea Construendo quod nisi tam erit Constructum voluit, et mandavit Illud Sepelirj tali Casu In eadem ecclesia In Sepulcro In quo Jacent Socrus ac Cognati Sui.“ Cf. ND IV, 8, no. 2, stipulated on 27 April, 1539.

rings of silver and gold, necklaces, and other mobile goods.⁶³ In all, the sum of 150 ducats was to be transferred from Felicita's dowry to the Franciscans who, in turn, were obliged to read a mass every year in her memory for the equivalent of 30 ducats per year until the total sum was paid out (i.e. over the five years after her death).⁶⁴ Her husband, Franciscus, was to receive "unam vestem pani nigrj, ac unam peliziam sive vestem ex Sarzia rouana vulpibus Sufultam", "domina Magdalena uxor Strenuus Comestaibilis Joannis a Lacu eius Comatri (Felicita's godmother, the author) unum anellum aurj Cum arma nobilium Tetricorum."⁶⁵ The daughters of Magdalena were to receive "unam vestem a dorso dicti testatricis ex Sarzia rouana (...) et unam vestem ex medialana paonazia."⁶⁶ Finally, Felicita's former servant, "Catherine filie Mathei Sagoraz", received "omnes Camisias et aliaquacumque drapamentas et vestimentas quotidiana a dorso."⁶⁷ Clearly, if the mobile goods – and their equivalent value

⁶³ This listing continues: "Item duos deziales ex argento quorum unius est laboraturus, ut dixit alla prosina, Item tresdecim butonzinos ex argento laborato, Item unum penarolum argenti ab agis, Item sex anullos ex auro, videlicet, unum magnum Cum petra rubea alterum Cum petra turchina, tertium Cum zala quartum Cum perla magnum, quintum Cum nomine Jesu descripto Sextum vero partim Cum capite albo ab homine, Item unam Cathenellam ex argento a gladijs quas res, et quas ornamenta asservit ipsa domina testatrix Esse ab eius dorso ea tam omnia sibi dono fuisse lata In domo paterna ante transductionem suam ad domum mariti." Cf. ND IV, 8, no. 2, stipulated on 27 April, 1539.

A codicil stipulated in February of 1559 reveals the value of some of the mobile goods bequeathed to Felicita's husband, though "vulgari Sermone describenda, videlicet, un anello d'oro con la pietra rossa di valuta come la disse di ducati sette, un'anello d'oro con una turchina de ducati quattro (...)." Cf. DC III, 1, no. 88, stipulated on 22 February, 1559.

⁶⁴ In addition to these large masses, Felicita's also ordered a number of additional requiems to be read in the churches dedicated to St Catherine and St Donatus while leaving small amounts of money to the reliquary chapel of St Simeon as well as to the church of Our Lady of Peace in Zadar's suburbs (Sancta Mariae Pacis de suburbio). In all of these cases, the bequest of money was tied to masses to be read in the testator's memory. Cf. ND IV, 8, no. 2, stipulated on 27 April, 1539.

⁶⁵ According to Tomislav Raukar et al., the heraldic sign of the Tetrico family is parted per fess (halved horizontally), the upper half was red with an eight-pointed yellow star in the middle, the lower half was blue. See Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 172–3.

⁶⁶ Magdalena and Joannis a Lacu had two daughters, "domina Ursia (...) uxor quondam ser Nicolai Ventura" and "Lucia." The two items listed above are in the same order. Cf. ND IV, 8, no. 2, stipulated on 27 April, 1539.

⁶⁷ All the information in the paragraph above is from Felicita's testament, cf. ND IV, 8, no. 2, stipulated on 27 April, 1539.

in monetary terms – bequeathed to the Franciscans may serve as any indicator, that Felicita was among the wealthy nobles of Zadar.⁶⁸

Another example of the wealthier echelons of Zadar's nobility is the testament of "Nobilis et honesta Matrona domina Marchetta filia quondam domini Philippi de Ferra et uxor in secundo matrimonio quondam domini Petri Ciuallelli nobili Jadre." She, too, decreed to be buried in the Franciscan church of Zadar and ordered her heirs to "celebrari faciant in ecclesia Sancti Francisci per fratres dicti ecclesiae Missas centum parvas per animam (...) post obitum dicti testatricis (...) cum helemosino consueta."⁶⁹ She then went on to state that the obligation of executing the testament was the responsibility of two of her children, "dominam Thomasinam et dominum Hieronymum eos filios." Among the many other clauses in which money was willed to a number of family members, there is also a hint at mobile goods. Her son, "Reverendo domino Zoylo canonico" was to receive "unus calix argenteus minauratus cum sua patena (...) qui calix debeat ascendere ad summam librarum 200 parvorum."⁷⁰

The third and last example of the three wealthiest families is the testament of "Nobilis matrona domina Euphemia filia quondam domini Joannis de Grisogonis et uxor quondam Excellentissimi leges utriusque Doctoris domini Simonis Rosa nobili Jadre." Unlike the two cases cited

⁶⁸ In this context, it may be worth pointing out that between 1540 and 1569, 77 individual testators of both sexes and noble descent made their testaments and/or codicils with one of Zadar's notaries public. All of them have been surveyed and the (eight) testaments of the Tetrico, Rosa, and Civallello family members – including only husbands and/or wives of family members – have been chosen for cursory remarks about material culture. In Felicita's case, her husband was named as her residual or universal heir with no further clauses attached, effectively transferring her property – both the (rest of her) dowry as well as her paraphernalia – to her husband's family. The testament itself was "actum Jadra in domo habitationis dicti dominae testatricis posita In Contrata Sancti Simonis sive arsenatus." Cf. ND IV, 8, no. 2, stipulated on 23 April, 1539.

Felicita also left four codicils, i.e. changed her last will at least partially four more times. Most other testators of both sexes, if they changed their testaments via codicils, did so once or twice; only "domina Francischina uxor quondam spectabili domini Damiani de Begna nobilis Jadrae," daughter of "domini Nicolai Orsati de Surgo de Ragusio," changed her last will also four times. Again, the fact that a Jadertine nobleman married the daughter of one of Dubrovnik's patrician families, the Sorgo, suggests that Damianus de Begna commanded an elevated societal posture compared to his fellow Jadertine noblemen (which also brought him a dowry worth "ducatos Trescentos auri," as stipulated in the marriage contract, written and "rogato per ser Marium de Fabritijs Notarium publicum Magnifici communitatis Ragusij sub die xxiiij mensis Januarij, 1516"). And while Damianus did not marry upwards, his status was high enough for a Ragusan nobleman to consider him to marry his daughter to. For Francischina's testament, cf. ND IV, 8, no. 40, stipulated on 1 March, 1564, for the reference to her originally having been from Ragusa, cf. PB I, 2, 14, stipulated on 23 December, 1555.

⁶⁹ Cf. SM I, 3, no. 4, stipulated on 11 March, 1557.

⁷⁰ In addition to another 100 requiems, the testament also contains detailed and elaborate succession criteria for Marchetta's residual heir, her son "dominum Aloysium supradictum filium dicti testatricis ex dicti quondam spectabili domino Petro de Begna eius primo matrimonio Nec non Reverendum dominum Zoylum canonicum Jadre, dominum Hieronymum, dominum Gregorium et dominam Thomasinam filios pariter dicti testatricis ex dicti quondam spectabili domino Petro Ciuallello eius secundu marito Cum hac conditione" – the children with her second husband appear to have been either not married and/or quite young. In addition, the testament clearly states that the residual inheritance was to be divided equally among all five and only bequeathed to legitimate offspring. In case no legitimate grand-children were available, then the listed back-up lines of succession taking effect. For all information in the paragraph above, cf. SM I, 3, no. 4, stipulated on 11 March, 1557.

above, Euphemia preferred the church of the Benedictine nobles—only nunnery of St Mary as her last resting place. Apart from clauses settling succession criteria as regards her real estate property near the villages of Banj (Bagno di Pasmano), the apotheca (warehouse) close to Zadar's main square, and other possessions elsewhere within Jadertine jurisdiction⁷¹, there are also remarks about mobile goods. “Itam dimisit et reliquit Magdalena filia naturali domini Michaelis eius filij (...) omnia et quascumque bona mobilia a dorso propriata (...) et una alia veste ex medialana coloris nigri, et duabus gonas ex rassie Coloris barelini, et ducatorum decem (...).”⁷² Despite the clauses ordering her legitimate sons to only bequeath immobile goods to their own legitimate offspring, as regards the mobile goods, the testator's freedom of action was obviously far greater. Even while it is not clear if these goods came from Euphemia's dowry or her paraphernalia, she could bequeath them at her own discretion, as evidenced by the fact that she gave away some of her clothes to her illegitimate granddaughter.⁷³

In order to add more details to this issues discussed above it appears necessary to at least cursorily survey also the testaments of less prominent nobles. Among the other fourteen aristocratic families are ample instances allowing more complete conclusions to be drawn about related aspects as regards the material culture. Among those the testament of “nobilis et honesta matrona domina Lucretia filia quondam spectabili domini Cresij de Gallellis et uxor quondam domini Caroli de Cedulinis nobilis Jadrensis” serves as the first example. After ordering her grave to be constructed “in ecclesia Sanctae Mariae” and the customary charitable bequests⁷⁴, the testatrix went on to bequeath some of her belongings to “domine Lucie matri presbytri Joanni Francouich Jadrensis unam vestem suam de sarzia nigra” as well as the right to abide in Lucretia's house for the rest of Lucia's life. In addition, the referenced priest, Johannes Francouich received the “bona infrascripta vulgari sermone describenda, videlicet, un letto de piuma col Suo cavazzal, un paro de lineali, uno paro de intemele et un cussin de

⁷¹ Again, as in the example before, real estate property succession was only possible for legitimate offspring: “Cum conditione per dictum testamentum Testamentaliter expresse apposita ex filij dictorum filiorum Suorum legitimariorum (...).” Cf. JMM III, 6, no. 286, stipulated on 13 April, 1544.

⁷² Cf. JMM III, 6, no. 286, stipulated on 13 April, 1544.

⁷³ All the information in the paragraph above is from Euphemia's testament, cf. JMM III, 6, no. 286, stipulated on 13 April, 1544.

⁷⁴ As indicated above, these usually included some small amount of money for the “fabrica cappelle Sancti Simeonis Justi” and the “lazareto pestiferorum”, all “pro anima sua”, and at times also other instances like the “fraternitate Sive scole Sacramenti sanctissimi corporis Christi in ecclesia metropolitana.” The given references are from Lucretia's testament, cf. FT I, 4, no. 46, stipulated on 12 February, 1555.

piuma.”⁷⁵ Also Lucretia’s sister, Marchetta⁷⁶, received a couple of mobile goods, “videlicet, do camise uno paro de lineoli, et uno paro de intimelle“, on top of 200 ducats, to be paid out of the testatrix’s income from her real estate property.⁷⁷ Furthermore, the testament contains a number of additional clauses dealing with a variety of money-related issues⁷⁸ as well as the designation of the residual heir, bequeathing all her real estate property (and the corresponding income) to all “damicellas nobiles Jadrensis pauperiores et seniores.“ The testament was to be kept in the nobles-only nunnery of St Mary (OSB) and the following clause specifically attached to the provision that “cum fuerint cumulati ducatorum ducenti, praefati commissarii Sui debeant dare et exbursare ipsos ducatos 200 in augmentum dotis uni ex damicellis nobilis praefatis pauperiori Sive ut seniori (...) si vellet se nubere domina Baldissara filia quondam domini Federici Grisogoni quondam domini Francisci.“ Consequently, these 200 ducats were to be extracted from the income of Lucretia’s possessions whose alienation was explicitly prohibited by her testament. Attached to the clauses the document also contains a list of the testatrix’s properties, suggesting that, despite not being named as rich by Venice’s legates, the wealth of Zadar’s nobles was probably not only to be found among the Tetrico, Rosa, and Civallello families.⁷⁹

Two final examples follow, the first being “nobilis domina Gelenta filia quondam domini Simonis Ciprianj Jadrensis“ who, as opposed to her fellow noblewomen referenced above, preferred her family grave “in ecclesia Sanctae Mariae presbyterorum alias Sancti Simonis Justi de Jadra.“ As far as the testatrix’s material goods are concerned, this testament is of particular

⁷⁵ In her testament, Lucretia’s notary switched the language from Latin to ‘Italian’ for the description of the mobile goods bequeathed to Johannes Francouich, indicating not only the proficiency exchangeability of these two languages but hinting also at the colloquial speech. Cf. FT I, 4, no. 46, stipulated on 12 February, 1555.

⁷⁶ Among the opening remarks in the testament is the clause that Lucretia appoints “venerabilem sominam Marchettam monialem in monasterio Sanctae Mariae Jadrensis sororem suam“ to be one of the executors (the other two being Nicolaus de Nassis and Donatus Crissana). Cf. FT I, 4, no. 46, stipulated on 12 February, 1555.

⁷⁷ Again, the language switch from Latin to ‘Italian’, cf. FT I, 4, no. 46, stipulated on 12 February, 1555.

⁷⁸ In an additional dowry instrument, Lucretia was promised “a Bernardino et Joanne Petri fratribus de Carnaruto ducatorum centum quinquaginta“, out of which only 50 ducats had been paid out accordingly. The testatrix then went on to bequeath the outstanding sum of 100 ducats to “domina Marine olim uxor quondam domini Donati de Carnarutis sorori dicti testatrixis.“ Clearly, kinship ties facilitated inheritance and/or succession issues. Cf. FT I, 4, no. 46, stipulated on 12 February, 1555.

⁷⁹ Especially in the light of the listed property (the names in brackets refer to today’s Croatian and their corresponding Italian toponyms, as far as existing): “Duj scoglij chiamati labdara grande et piccolo Con animali ducento; La possession de Chuchgliza (Kukljica/Camera, Cucchizza, or Cuclizza) Isola de Zara; Sorte dieci di Terre poste à Machurci; Sorte cinque a Migliasichi (Miljačka/Migliazza); Due sorte à Varicassane; Gognali trentado à Lucorano (Lukoran/Lucorano) arabile et vignati et olinatj; Il molin overo la posta, et paga livello de lire 20 a Machurci (Mahurci); Livelli posti à San Simon; Una ograda sotto’l monte ferreo de gognali 8 vel circa vignada à sozali; Una casetta al castello nella qual habita Lucia Francouich; Una casetta al castello verso San Francesco; Livelli in Borgo uno paga dre lire Cioe Zoysici de soldi 20 Miclos Draxinouich et Siglicich un moce-nigo; Livello d’un horto per il qual Si paga soldi 30 posto drio San Helie; Una casetta drio San Helia che paga de livello soldi 40.“ Cf. FT I, 4, no. 46, stipulated on 12 February, 1555.

interest. While not exactly a member of the wealthy noble families, Gelenta left both “Lucretia et Raphaela (...) quondam domini Antonii eius testatricis olim fratris” 300 libras each in case her nieces wished to marry. Also, “Agneti eius famula” received “unam Gonallam ex rasia Grossa, et unum faciolum a capite” from the testatrix.⁸⁰

The second example involved “Nobilis domina Catherina filia quondam domini Hieronymi de Nassis nobili Jadrensis, et uxor quondam domini Francisci Gallelli.” Preferring to be buried in the Franciscan's church⁸¹, too, but in this case we learn more about bequeathed mobile goods. Two of the testatrix's nieces, “Reverende Helisabeth, et Magdanele (...) ex domina Maria suprascripta filia”, then in the nobles-only nunnery of St Mary's (OSB), received both one ducat and “unum faciolum a capite.” In addition, Catherina's bequeathed “Cathussa olim eius ancillae un par manicarum (...), et unam cordellam a capite, valoris In totum librarum trium.” Similarly, “reliquit Franiza de Ugliano (Ugljan/Ugliano, the author) pizochara comorani In hospitalis Sancti Bernardini Jadre unum eius testatricis pelliziam ex pellibus agnilinis (...) ex duabus quas habet, et unum faciolum a capite”, and her then-present maid received goods, too.⁸²

As this cursory overview of the goods bequeathed by Zadar's noblewomen illustrates, the worldly belongings bequeathed indicate that testaments and wills may, indeed, contribute significantly to the future study of the material culture of Dalmatia's nobility. As evidenced by the data in the testaments of these six noblewomen, money, jewellery, and expensive garments were predominantly bequeathed to other nobles, ecclesiastical institutions, and/or individuals. On a related note, the testaments and wills offer first insights into the self-representation of Dalmatia's nobility as called for by Neven Budak.⁸³ These symbols and styles ranged from the explicit mentioning of a ring with the coat-of-arms⁸⁴ of one of Zadar's most influential

⁸⁰ All the information about Gelenta derives from her testament, cf. JMM III, 6, no. 189, stipulated on 4 November, 1539.

⁸¹ “Item voluit sepeliri In ecclesia Sancti Francisci fratrum minorum regularis observandum Jadra In sepulcro Suo.” Again, apart from this clause, the usual charitable bequests to the plague lazaretto and the reliquary of St Simeon are included in Catherina's testament, too. Cf. JMM III, 6, no. 337, stipulated on 6 November, 1545.

⁸² “Item reliquit Helisabeth filia Simonis Bratich de Bocagnatio (Bokanjac/Boccagnazzo, the author) famula unam podassam ex pellibus caprinis vetere, et unam cordellam a capite.” All the information about Catherina derives from her testament, cf. JMM III, 6, no. 337, stipulated on 6 November, 1545.

⁸³ Budak, “Urban elites,” 199.

⁸⁴ As was the case in the above-referenced testament of Felicita, wife of Franciscus Tetricus, cf. ND IV, 8, no. 2, stipulated on 27 April, 1539, as well as Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 172–3.

families – the Tetrici – to wanting to be buried “in habitu ordinis.”⁸⁵ In addition, right of abode, small amounts of money, even pieces of furniture as well as cloth of lesser quality and value was usually given to (former) domestic service personnel and/or other acquainted individuals. As far as the potential for future research goes, inventories may need to be considered⁸⁶, too, in order to further our knowledge of the symbology, styles, and self-representation of the urban nobility as a whole.⁸⁷ These implications notwithstanding, in order to provide at least some starting points for future research into these areas, the “*Inventarium bonorum, et hereditatis quondam spectabilis domini Nicolai Fanphoneo Nobilis Jadrensis*“, written by Jadertine notary public Petrus de Bassano, is referred to as *pars pro toto*. At twelve folii length it documents meticulously both immobile and mobile belongings “*requisitum per virum Nobilem Jadrensis dominum Gregorium de Fanphogna eius fratrem heredem Testamentarium*.”⁸⁸

⁸⁵ This happened, for instance, in the case of “*domina Joanna filia quondam domini Cypriani Diphnich Sibinicensis et uxor viri nobilis Jadrensis domini Joannis de Begna quondam domini Scauich*“, who ordered to be buried “*In ecclesia venerabilium fratrum Sancti Francisci Jadra ordinis minorum regulantis observantia In habitu dicti ordinis*.” Cf. JMM III, 6, no. 338, stipulated on 19 December, 1545.

⁸⁶ Inventories and the “systematic study“ thereof were mentioned by Neven Budak, however, he also mentioned that tasks like these would be “surpassing the powers of an individual“, thus being definitely beyond the scope of the present thesis. Budak, “Urban élites,” 199.

⁸⁷ Budak, “Urban élites,” 199.

⁸⁸ Interestingly, this inventory includes, inter alia, a list of books owned by the deceased Nicolaus Fanfoneo, listing the following books, alluding to the potential of inventories in assessing the level of education of Dalmatia’s nobles, as called for by Neven Budak: “*Item libri de piu Sorte, numero 17, videlicet, uno Oracio, uno Cicero, uno Quintilian, uno Juvenal, uno Lorenzo Valla vocabulista, uno Epistolle de Ovidio, regulle Sepontine, uno Petrarca, uno Virgillio, uno Ovidio metamorfosio, uno Matial (probably Gaius Matius, the author), uno Epistolle de Cicero, meditatione de Santo Bona Ventura, uno Livio, Coperto di pelle rossa, unaltro Juvenal picollo, una institutione de Gramaticha in volume picholo, et uno missal vechio Scripto in Carta pergamina*.” Among these, there is an abundance of Classical Latin writings – and only one missal, mentioned at the end of the list. Cf. PB II, 6, stipulated on 21 June, 1531, a transcript of the entire inventory is provided in the appendix. For the reference to education, Budak, “Urban élites,” 199, for the inventory, cf. PB II, 6, stipulated on 21 June, 1531.

8. Functional Groups and Zadar's Urban Landscape

Over the course of the past centuries, the myth of Venice's enduring socio-political stability was perpetuated by a number of both contemporary and modern scholars.⁸⁹ Most arguing regards the social structure of the Republic of St Mark, in many instances based upon the writings by Marcantonio Sabellico and Gasparo Contarini's *De magistratibus et republica Venetorum*.⁹⁰ James Grubb provides an introduction to the assessment of Venice's social structures, arguing that they were either bipartite or tripartite in nature. While legally not as clearly defined as the formal closings of the Venetian patriciate's ranks⁹¹, from the fifteenth century onwards, the distinct "*ceto cittadino*"⁹² (emphasis in the original) became even more diversified by what James Grubb refers to as "elite commoners."⁹³ These individuals serving the Republic were, similarly to the patricians, required to provide information about the legitimacy of their birth⁹⁴ if, for instance, they intended to serve in the office of the Procu-

⁸⁹ See the information given above, i.e. Crouzet-Pavan, *Venice Triumphant*, 84–96, Grubb, "When Myths Lose Power," 50–60, Muir, *Civic Ritual*, 13–61, Povoio, "Creation of Venetian Historiography," 491–519, Queller, *Venetian Patriciate*, 3–28, and Romano and Martin, "Reconsidering Venice," 2–9.

In addition to these, see also Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice*, Giuseppe Gullino, "Il Patriziato," in *Storia di Venezia: Il Rinascimento: Politica e Cultura*, ed. Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci (Rome: Enciclopedia Italiana, 1996), 379–413.

⁹⁰ For the relatively recent contribution by James Grubb and his references to Marcantonio Sabellico as well as Gasparo Contarini, see Grubb, "Elite Citizens," 339–40.

⁹¹ The list of scholarly works about the so-called *Serrata* is long, too, an excellent starting point is the concise but detailed overview by Gerhard Rösch, "The Serrata of the Great Council and Venetian Society, 1286–1323," in *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297–1797*, ed. Dennis Romano and John Martin (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 2000), 67–88, offering guidance through the historiographical discussions and recent bibliographical references. See furthermore Chojnacki, "Third *Serrata*," 263–94, and O'Connell, *Men of Empire*, 57–74.

⁹² While the bipartite model of Venice's society was discarded from the 18th century onwards, These *cittadini originari* (original citizens), were bound to the ruling aristocracy by awarding them with a number of honours, offices, and rewards. In turn, these citizens provided their education, skills, and techniques for the continuity of government made necessary by the continuous rotation of "amateur patricians" in and out of office, a notion echoed by, inter alia, Leopold von Ranke. The quoted reference as well as the term above is from Grubb, "Elite Citizens," 340, for the reference to the latter, see Walter Zapperi, *Venezia nel Cinquecento*, 148–9.

In addition, see also Lester Libby, "Venetian History and Political Thought after 1509," *Studies in the Renaissance* 20 (1973): 21–2 (7–45), and Brian S. Pullan, "Service to the Venetian State: Aspects of Myth and Reality in the Early Seventeenth Century," *Studi Secenteschi* 5 (1964): 103 (95–148).

⁹³ Not all of the original citizens belonged to this social sub-group of commoners. The ruling aristocratic elite dealt with a "composite citizen elite" and sought to separate the elite citizens from the patrician's grip on power. The distinctions included various offices and provided a group of "nonnoble worthies" with the possibilities of active participation in the Venetian councils of government – but below the highest social strata and out of reach of the realms of the aristocracy. Grubb, "Elite Citizens," 341–2.

On a related note, in her PhD thesis, Mary Neff surveys one particular group out of these commoners by means of prosopography, chancery officials of non-noble descent. See Mary F. Neff, *Chancellery Secretaries in Venetian Politics and Society, 1480–1533* (Ann Arbor: Univ. Microfilms International, 1985).

⁹⁴ Established in 1569, the legislation put in place by the Signoria gave the Avogadori di Comun the powers to register the then-established citizen class. These registers are, according to James Grubb, "so complete as a whole they are said to constitute a *Libro d'Argento*, parallel to the *Libri d'Oro* that inscribed the nobility." Grubb, "Elite Citizens," 353 (emphases in the original).

rators of St Mark.⁹⁵ And while the legislative framework established on the eve of the Cyprus War closed the ranks of the original citizens, the consequence were the definition and formalisation of earlier privileges of an already-existing “distinctive subaltern class”⁹⁶, achieved over the course of more than a century. Consequently, with the end of the discussions of further upward social mobility of these original citizens into the aristocracy⁹⁷, Venice’s ruling patricians tied these individuals and their families closer to them and conceded additional offices and privileges to the most loyal subjects.⁹⁸

As far as the *Stato da mar* was concerned, the picture becomes less clear, mostly because of the variety of issues to consider. Among these, historiography tends to focus on the bigger picture and/or entities first, thus Venice proper and its most important possessions – Crete, Cyprus, and Constantinople/Istanbul – received most of the attention so far.⁹⁹ The most recent elaborate study about the administration of the *Stato da mar* was written by Monique O’Con-

⁹⁵ Analogous to the closing of the patriciate, the institution of original citizenship as a pre-requisite for public office was a process initiated in 1410, spanning over roughly 150 years, and finally clarified by the Great Council in 1569, on the eve of the Cyprus War. Questions of the legitimacy of birth required aspiring citizens to provide proof that he was “Venetus”, i.e. both his father and grandfather had to be born in the city. For detailed information about the legal framework and the corresponding legislation, see Grubb, “Elite Citizens,” 341–3. In addition, see also Luca Molà and Reinhold C. Mueller, “Essere straniero a Venezia nel tardo medioevo: Accoglienze e rifiuto nei privilegi di cittadinanza e nelle sentenze criminali,” in *Le migrazioni in Europa, secc. XIII–XVIII: Atti delle “venticinquesima settimana di studi”*, 3–8 maggio 1993, ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Florence: Le Monnier, 1994), 846 (839–51).

⁹⁶ Grubb, “Elite Citizens,” 354.

⁹⁷ The list of works on the marriage behaviour of Venice’s patriciate is long and extensive, for good starting points (other than the references given above) and recent bibliographical references, see O’Connell, *Men of Empire*, 57–74.

For information about intermarriage-related issues between patricians and non-nobles, especially because it was more likely for patrician men marrying downwards instead of patrician women marrying upwards. See Stanley Chojnacki, “Marriage Legislation and Patrician Society in Fifteenth Century Venice,” in *Law, Custom, and the Social Fabric in Medieval Europe: Essays in Honor of Bryce Lyon*, ed. Bernard S. Bachrach (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan Univ., 1990), 170, 174 (163–84), and Chojnacki, “Kinship Ties,” 265.

For the problems of rising dowry costs, conspicuous consumption, and the consequences thereof (locking patrician daughters into Venice’s convents), see the introductory overview on this topic in Sperling, *Convents and the Body Politic*, 1–17, as well as Laven, *Virgins of Venice*.

⁹⁸ Grubb, “Elite Citizens,” 355–6.

⁹⁹ These three locations, above all others, were considered to be the most precious possessions of Venice – and, as Monique O’Connell points out, should be administered by the most able men. She continues to argue that these positions were closely connected with the mythical self-representation of the Republic of St Mark and its ruling aristocratic class. See O’Connell, *Men of Empire*, 39–40, Crouzet-Pavan, *Venice Triumphant*, 84–96, Grubb, “When Myths Lose Power,” 50–60, Gullino, “Frontiere navali,” 379–413, Muir, *Civic Ritual*, 13–61, Povolo, “Creation of Venetian Historiography,” 491–519, Queller, *Venetian Patriciate*, 3–28, and Romano and Martin, “Reconsidering Venice,” 2–9.

Apart from these three places, other very important places were Zadar and Corfu, all were regional centres with extended jurisdiction over nearby municipalities, towns, and their respective territorial entities. The literature on these locations is already considerable, for starting points (other than the ones given in the present study), follow Giorgio Chittolini, “The Italian City-State and its Territory,” in *City States in Classical Antiquity and Medieval Italy*, ed. Anthony Molho (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1991), 598–9 (589–602), and Sergij Vilfan, “Towns and States at the Juncture of the Alps, the Adriatic, and Pannonia,” in *Cities and the Rise of States in Europe, A.D. 1000–1800*, ed. Charles Tilly (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), 48 (44–59), as well as the information provided in O’Connell, *Men of Empire*, 41–2.

nell and is based upon the *Rulers of Venice* database.¹⁰⁰ Detailing a wide variety of facets of Venetian rule overseas, it revolves around the patricians sent to the maritime dominions as administrators, governors, and military commanders. As far as the present study is concerned, this, again, provides a valuable view – from the top down to the subjects of the Republic of St Mark.¹⁰¹

The final chapter of the present thesis aims at furthering our understanding of this picture by adding details and additional information about the composition of urban societies and the individual interactions with each other within the larger framework of Venice's Adriatic dominions. Over the course of the following pages, cursory overviews about the various groups of interest – Venetians, Croats, and Jews – and their everyday life are given. Remarks about the functional group of the notaries public and indications about Zadar's urban landscape conclude the portrayal of the urban elites. It must be noted, though, that the subsequent considerations revolve not so much around the Venetian administrative officials. On the contrary, the individuals and groups subject to the counts, dukes, and rectors, their lives and livelihoods are discussed here, taking the term "elite citizens" out of its distinct context of political office-holding and portray the lives of individuals instead.

8.1. *Venetians in Zadar*

The number of both Venetians patricians and commoners in the *Stato da mar* in general and Zadar in particular is hard to assess, especially as the military presence distorts the proportions. In only 120 instances out of the more than 6,000 notarial instruments surveyed individuals from the lagoon metropolis appear in the sources. Of course, even this number is no good indicator because of that fact that many stipulating parties appear on multiple occasions. Also, contrary to the above-referenced quantitative data about the Venetian presence in Dalmatia, the contracts involving these individuals range from procuratorial instruments to real estate transfer contracts to quitclaims, ratifications, and commercial contracts. Thus, the subsequent listing is not only incomplete but also slightly biased towards individuals and/or kinsmen appearing more than once in order to obtain at least a clearer picture of the activities of said Venetians.

¹⁰⁰ See O'Connell, *Men of Empire*, but see also the information as regards the *Rulers of Venice* database provided above.

¹⁰¹ See also Sally McKee's comments about the necessity of combining both top-down as well as bottom-up views. McKee, "Women under Venetian Colonial Rule," 34–5.

Among those individuals, the most prominent appearance has been made by the Jadertine branch of the Venier family. Around the mid–sixteenth century, two sub–branches of the Venier family dwelled in Zadar, whose extent of their kinship relations may not be exactly reconstructed. Based on one rental contract noting its location of stipulation – “In domo praefatorum Magnificorum dominorum de cha Venerio, posita In Contrata Sancti Stephani” – at least the location of their main house is known.¹⁰² Mentioned already on a number of occasions¹⁰³, the notarial instruments, in general, revolve around the same issues as those of the Dalmatian elite, and the following description of various members of the Venier family starts with the naming of the fortification at “Zumónico (Zemunik/Zemonico, the author), castello di meser Thomaso Venier et fratelli.”¹⁰⁴

From the house “Magnificorum dominorum de cha Venerio”, located in Zadar’s St Stephen’s parish, Thomaso and his brothers made their living.¹⁰⁵ Apart from renting out their property to acquaintances, for instance, fellow military commander “Joanni Rimanich”¹⁰⁶, the Venier brothers also conceded parts of their real estate property to colonists in order to obtain additional income.¹⁰⁷ And, as with the local Jadertine nobility, the members of the Venier fam-

¹⁰² One rental contract, stipulated between “Magnificus dominus Sanctus Venerio quondam celeberrimi domini Joannis Aloysij, patritius venetus, sponte, et libere per Se suosque heredes, nomine Suo proprio, et celeberrimi domini Antonij eius patru, ac Magnificorum domini Petri, Thomasij, et Stephani fratrum suorum absentium” leased “omnes et Singulis Introitus fructus, redditus, et provenientus, ac utilitates quascumque, ne non affictus et livellos Castri, et ville Slivnize” (Slivnica/Slivnizza) to “strenuo Capitano Croatorum Comiti Joanni Rimanich quondam comitis Zornichi.” For the duration of three years “a die festivitatis Sancti Martini de mense Novembris” for the sum of “ducatorum Centum”, i.e. 300 ducats for the entire rent, to be paid in three instalments over every year of the rent. Cf. AM I, 1, C, stipulated on 29 July, 1551.

¹⁰³ And by the Venetian officials throughout the decades under survey in the present study, see Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 172, and Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 3, 51, 102.

¹⁰⁴ As named in the report by “viri nobilis domini Pauli Justiniani reversi capitanei Iadrae”, presented to the Venetian Senate on 13 February, 1553. Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 3, 48–55, the reference to Thomasius and his brothers is from page 51.

¹⁰⁵ The “cha Venerio, posita In contrata Sancti Stefanj”, was formerly in the possession of their father, “quondam celeberrimi domini Joannis Aloysij”, a Venetian patrician. Cf. AM I, 1, C, stipulated on 29 July, 1551.

¹⁰⁶ He, too, is referred to with the epithet comes, indicating Johannes may have been of aristocratic descent, albeit originally from Zadar’s hinterlands. In the document, he is referred to as “strenuo capitaneo Croatorum Comiti Joanni Rimanich quondam Comitis Tornichi” (or Zornichi, the instrument leaves as much space for interpretation). Cf. AM I, 1, C, stipulated on 29 July, 1551.

¹⁰⁷ In September of 1554, “dominus Arcelinus de Abrianis Tridentinus (of Trent, the author), agens et Interveniens ad infrascripta tanquam factor, et Negociorum Gestor, Nobilium virorum Magnificorum Veneriorum quondam celeberrimi domini Joanni Aloysij Patritiorum venetorum” conceded 1.5 gonjaj (morgen) “posita in Cerodolo (Zerodo, the author) super terreno dictorum Nobilium veneriorum” each to “Marco Cerodolo, Simoni Luchinouich, et Petro Sablich ligonizatoribus habitatoribus Jadre.” Over the course of the subsequent decade, the three labourers were to diligently labour, in accordance with the relevant passages in Zadar’s statutory law, and grow grapes and other crops. A quarter of the harvest was to be transported to the landlord’s mansion. For the notarial instrument, cf. DC I, 1, 1, f49r/f49v, stipulated on 9 September, 1554.

For the relevant passages and chapters in Zadar’s communal law, see Lib. III, tit. XVII: “De iure emphiteotico seu de iure quod acquiritur danti et recipienti possessiones aliquas ad pastinandum,” containing seven sub–chapters. Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 324–32.

For the reference to the fourth of the harvest to be transferred to the landlord, see Lib. III, tit. XVII, cap. 82: “Quod nullus det terram ad pastinandum minus quam ad quartam partem; et de poena dantis.” Ibid., 324–6.

ily also carried out procuratorial duties. In summer of 1559, “domina Nicolota uxoe quondam domini Georgij Venerij olim civis et habitator Jadrae, mulier Sui Juris“, appointed “Magnificum et Generosum dominum Sanctum Venerio patritium venetum quondam celeberrimi domini Joannis Aloysij“ in order to settle legal differences. Referring to a sentence issued “per celeberrimum dominum Natalem Donato olim dignissimum Provisorem Generalem in Dalmatia“ on 12 June, 1555, Sanctus was to recover the sum of 79 libras parvorum from “strenui domini Demetriij Lascari“, owed to the constituent because of the house in which Demetrius dwelled and which belonged to the late Georgius Venerio. Obviously, the tenant did not pay all of his bills.¹⁰⁸ The relation between the constituent and procuratorial parties is not entirely clear, but the naming of the latter as Venetian patrician suggests that Nicolota deemed such high-profile representation necessary in order to overcome her opponent's social posture.¹⁰⁹

Let us now investigate what else Thomaso and his brother did when they were not carrying out procuratorial duties.¹¹⁰ Both Thomaso and his brother Stephanus were galley commanders in the service of the Republic of St Mark. The former was probably older than the latter, evidenced by his appearance as early as winter of 1542 when he paid out the sold to forty-four oarsmen.¹¹¹ Thanks to his brother Stephanus, commanding a galley in the early 1550s, we also learn more about the composition of the crew of Venice's warships. In late November of 1552, “Magistri Iseppus quondam Bernardini de Venetijs Carpentarius (wainwright, the author) in Triremi Magnifici domini Stephani Venerio“, issued a quitclaim to have been paid the sum of 500 libras parvorum – not for services rendered on board the galley but because

¹⁰⁸ For all the information concerning the procuratorial contract, cf. DC I, 1, 7, f23v/f24r, stipulated on 10 June, 1559.

¹⁰⁹ Demetrius is referred to with the term strenuous, suggesting he was a soldier and thus, assuming Nicolota's non-noble descent, more likely to be inclined listening to a Venetian patrician.

¹¹⁰ On another exemplary occasion, “domina Catherina uxor quondam strenui domini Joannis Paleologo“ who appointed Sanctus' brother, “Magnificum et Generosum dominum Thomasium Venerio quondam celeberrimi domini Joannis Aloysij Patritium venetum“ to collect all outstanding sums of money “ab officio Magnificorum dominorum camerarorum (...) pro pagis decursis usque in presentem diem.“ Again, the trip was bound to take the procuratorial appointee to the magistrates in Venice proper, thus an individual with kinship ties to the Republic's ruling class was more likely to succeed. Cf. DC I, 2, 4, f15r, stipulated on 21 August, 1562.

Other examples of Thomaso assuming procuratorial duties involved mostly military personnel attempting to obtain outstanding sold payments. With respect to Thomaso, cf. also SB I, 1, 6, f443r/f443v, stipulated on 28 January, 1564 (two separate contracts).

¹¹¹ “Constituti Infrascripti quadragina quatuor homines ad praesens galeote biremis Magnifici domini Thomasij Venerio, et olim galeote Cum triremibus Infrascriptis“, issuing a joint quitclaim after receiving their payments. Interestingly, the document lists not also the names and, in many instances, also the villages of origin, but also the individual sums, and, on some occasions, also remarks about long-term service as well as personal bravery is noted. Thomaso, representing not only his galley but also other warships, paid out the oarsmen while still on his bireme “In portu Jadrensis.“ This notarial instrument mentions that a total of four witnesses was present, double the regular/usual number, most likely because the total amount of money paid out was around 3,000 libras parvorum. Cf. ND I, 1 E, stipulated on 4 December, 1542.

Iseppus married Stephanus' maid, Catherina. The wainwright claimed to have received the entire sum from Thomaso who stipulated on behalf of his absent brother, paid out "in tot bonis, et rebus mobilibus" worth 407 libras parvorum, the rest was paid in specie.¹¹²

Apart from the administrative officials, members of the Jadertine branch of the Venier family, and the above-mentioned Franciscus Dandulo, most other Venetians appearing in the sources were affiliated with either the church or the military. The former, already described in more detail above, testifies to the grip the Republic of St Mark had on the highest echelons of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.¹¹³ The latter may be assumed to constitute a direct consequence of the increasing militarisation of Zadar, its hinterlands, and its society over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹¹⁴ Apart from a number of (former) Venetian officials taking over procuratorial duties¹¹⁵, most other Venetians appearing in the sources were either associated with the military¹¹⁶, or otherwise engaged in the public administration, and at times in unexpected ways, as the following example illustrates.

In spring of 1564, Giacomo Pisani was appointed to the office of count of Zadar¹¹⁷ and soon found out that the comparatively high numbers of soldiers required to guard the city and

¹¹² Also, the instrument mentions "ser Fantinus filius Joannis de Venetijs Bombardarius in dicta Triremi", making it clear that by the 1550s, the Dalmatian galleys of Venice were equipped with cannons. For this and the rest of the above-given information, cf. JM I, 3, f3r, stipulated on 30 November, 1552.

¹¹³ Arbel, "Colonie d'oltremare," 975, and Pederin, "Venezianisches Handelssystem," 143.

¹¹⁴ Exemplified by the number of reports from the period under consideration in which the governors and/or captains called for additional funding and/or soldiers as well as continued investment in the fortifications, not only in the Zadar area but all over the Adriatic components of the Stato da mar. For an overview, see Žmegač, *Bastioni*, 29–71, and Žmegač, "Venezianische Festungen," 129–42, as well as the introductory remarks to this topic by Tea Mayhew: Less control over the hinterlands resulted in the Venetian take-over of the "Ottoman way of small war, typical for the frontier areas, based on skirmishes, raids and similar guerilla actions. This way of combating also dictated the specific way of living, creating specific frontiers (sic!) societies in the hinterland of the Dalmatian coastal towns." Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 23–9, the referenced quote is from pages 13–4.

¹¹⁵ Apart from the examples given in part two, another one thereof was "clarissimus dominus Joannes de Garzonibus olim comes et capitaneus Tragurij" (Trogir/Traù) who, in the late 1540s, appointed "spectabilem virum dominum Joannem Mazzrellum", Zadar's communal chancellor, to act as his procurator. At the root of it stood the credit – 90 ducats and 4 libras – the former count of Trogir paid out "a ser Francisco Patini Brixienensis", in summer of 1548. Cf. FT I, 1, 1, f1r, stipulated on 2 October, 1548.

This specific contract has been transcribed and can be found in the appendix as one of the exemplary sources.

¹¹⁶ Evidenced by, for instance, "Magnificus dominus Aloysius Memo quondam Magnidici domini Nicolai dignissimus castellanus in castro civitatis Jadra", who, in early 1560, appointed "celeberrimum dominum Bernardum Contareno quondam celeberrimi domini Caroli alias dignissimum provisorem generalem in Dalmatia" in absentia to act as the constituent's procurator. His task was, comparable to many other appointees, to obtain "ab officio Magnificorum dominorum camerariorum communitatis Venetiarum (...) omnes et quaecumque denariorum quantitatem quam dixit debere habere a dicto officio pro augmento Salarij Sui." Cf. DC I, 2, 2, f 45r/f45v, stipulated on 6 January, 1560.

A second example was "Magnificus dominus Hieronymus Foscarius quondam celeberrimi domini Michaelis" who, as heir of his late brother, appointed "Magnificum et celeberrimum dominum Marcum Antonium Priolum dignissimum capitaneum Jadrae" to act on his behalf. The likewise absent Jadertine captain was tasked to take care of the debts incurred by the constituent's late brother. Cf. SB I, 1, 3, f137r, stipulated on 28 June, 1558.

¹¹⁷ His term in office lasted from 22 May, 1564, to 4 November, 1565, as evidenced by the edition of his relazione held in the Venetian Senate on 13 March, 1566. For his report, see Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 3, 164–7.

its fortifications¹¹⁸ was only part of the problem – as were the Ottoman subjects eating, drinking, and negotiating with the Venetian administration in Zadar.¹¹⁹ In order to feed these soldiers as well as prepare for another eventual war with the neighbouring Ottoman Empire, additional investments in provisions were necessary. Consequently, a couple of months after his appointment two Jadertines of high social posture were summoned to the count's audience chambers and received a large sum of money. These two, “Meser Gieronimo Grisogono nobile, et Meser Zanantonio Rossetto cittadin di Zara“, publicly stated that they were given “ducati quattrocento et trenta dal libri 6 soldi 4 per ducato in tanti contadi“ by “Il celeberrimo meser Giacomo Pisani dignissimo conte di Zara novamente venuto al Reggimento et governo di quella.“ Because the city's provisions of biave (rust bread) were almost impossible to come by in 1564 – the Emperor's requisitions are cited as main reason in the instrument¹²⁰ – but required to ensure the food security of Zadar nonetheless, these 430 ducats were paid out by the count “per investire quelli in formenti et altre biave nelle parti di Turchia al beneficio si di questa città come del Suo territorio (...).“ In addition to this sum already paid out in advance, the count gave Gieronimo Grisogono and Zanantonio Rossetto 290 ducats more “in oro et moneta corrente“, the total amount of money thus amounted to 720 ducats specifically earmarked to buy food, even from subjects of the potential future adversary.¹²¹ And despite the continued Ottoman efforts to conquer the Mediterranean island of Malta in 1565, Gieronimo Grisogono and Zanantonio Rossetto, “deputati al proveder di biave per 250 di questa città“, were at least partially successful. Consequently, and obviously despite the odds

¹¹⁸ Giacomo Pisani cited 30 soldiers guarding the Porta Terraferma (or Kopnena vrata), 20 soldiers “sotto il capitano Zuan Agustin Sanudo“ guarded the harbour fortress, and, under the command of fourteen individuals, 214 cavalymen, all paid by the fiscal chamber of Zadar. And while the annual income was given with slightly more than 9,000 ducats, these costs amounted to almost 1,500 ducats per year alone, adding to the annual expenses of circa 6,600 ducats. And for what the rest was spent on, see the footnote below. Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 3, 164–5.

¹¹⁹ Another strain on the communal fiscal chamber were the visits by Ottoman emissaries and the presents for the neighbouring provincial official from beyond the borders: “Il restante de intrada di quella camera si spende nel presentar et dar mangiar a Turchi, che vengono nella città a negoziare, quanto che suciede de disturbo a quelli confini;“ and while these expenses during Giacomo Pisani's tenure of the post of Zadar's count amounted only to 40 ducats over 19 months, “(...) la maggior parte et più importante spesa è l'apresentar ogn'anno di ottobre il sanzacco, che vien per visita a quelli confini, dal qual mai non si ha ottenuto cosa alcuna (...).“ Ibid., 165.

¹²⁰ Probably triggered by the Ottoman attacks on the island of Malta, held by the Knights Hospitaller, in 1564, the Emperor started hoarding supplies in order to increase his readiness in the event of a subsequent attack on the Habsburg dominions – at least this is the reason given in the instrument: “(...) per Il carico chel tiene talmente proveder al bisogno degli habitanti in essa, et nel Suo territorio che (...) non venghino a partir di Saggio di biave delle quali quest'anno così piacendo a Sua Divina Maesta se ne ha havuto pochissimo raccolto, Gli ellesse et deputò a questo negotio appresso le altre provigioni per Sua celeberrima Maesta intorno a cio maturamente fatte (...).“ Cf. DC I, 2, 6, stipulated on 16 October, 1564.

¹²¹ For all information in this paragraph to this point, cf. DC I, 2, 6, stipulated on 16 October, 1564.

that the subjects of both future adversaries were involved, the two emissaries returned the rest of the money and the count himself issued a formal quietatio (quitclaim).¹²²

8.2. *Elite Commoners*

Over the course of the next pages, those citizens and/or residents of Zadar presumed to have belonged to the citizen elite are analysed. Based upon the information given in the present study so far, additional data about other commoners affiliated with the public administration is given, hopefully paving the way for future analysis. Again, those individuals specifically referred to by the Venetian officials in their reports provide the starting point for the subsequent remarks.

Referred to as “fedelissimo” by Pauli Justiniano, after his tenure of the captainship of Zadar in the first years of the 1550s, the most acknowledged and renown individuals were “un Simon Bertonicchio, il capitano Peregrin de Marco, Francesco de Ventura, Zuan Rimondin, Hierolimo di Lorenzi et altri simili.”¹²³ Let us now examine briefly what these non-noble individuals did and, if it should prove possible, compare this to the afore-mentioned activities of their fellow Jadertines of aristocratic descent. As above, this section will examine the activities on the basis of two large groups of instruments, procuratorial appointments and property transactions, augmented by various additional documents.

While the notarial instruments do not yield information about Simon Bertonicchio, the situation changes considerably as regards “il capitano Peregrin de Marco.”¹²⁴ Apart from three female members of the de Marco family who lived behind the walls of St Catherine’s convent¹²⁵, their base of power was the fortified place of Turanj (Torretta/Turretta) and two branches bearing this surname lived in Zadar around the mid-sixteenth century. One of these two was Peregrin’s family, centred around him, referred to as “strenuus dominus Pelegrinus de Marco Civis, ac habitator Jadre.” In a procuratorial instrument from the early 1540s, he is referenced “Intervenens nomine sup proprio, ac nomine done Anzole eius matris, ac omnium aliorum fratrum et sororium Suarum absentium, cum quibus est in fraterna, ut asservit.” Con-

¹²² As regards the quitclaim, i.e. the second part of the paragraph above, cf. DC I, 2, 7, stipulated on 24 August, 1565.

¹²³ Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 3, 52.

¹²⁴ He was commanding a detachment of 5 cavalymen of Croatian origin, as evidenced by Pelegrinus’ being referred to as “capitaneus crouatorum.” Cf. DC I, 1, 8, 1, f27r/f27v, stipulated on 17 November, 1559, for the number of soldiers, see Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 196.

¹²⁵ These two were sor Francischina de Marco and sor Ursia de Marco, both “moniales Sanctae Catherinae” OSB, living behind the walls of the Benedictine nunnery. Cf. SB I, 1, 6, f390r/f390v, stipulated on 26 October, 1559, but see also the information given above in table 8.

jointly, they appointed “ser Dominicum de Tervisio stipendiatum ad custodiam platheam“ to collect all outstanding sold payments owed to them “a camera Vegle“ (Krk/Veglia).¹²⁶ Pelegrinus, referred to as strenuous lord was commanding a small detachment of soldiers, rendering it very likely that he was personally acquainted with the procuratorial appointee given that both served in the military. More than a decade later, in the mid-1550s, Pelegrinus appeared in another procuratorial document – but as the adversary. “Egregius vir dominus Simeon Britanicus civis et Interpres publicus Jadre“, apparently lost the legal feud he had with Pelegrinus de Marco. Still believing in his chances, Simeon formally appointed “Reverendum dominum Petrum eius filium Primicerium Jadrensis“ to travel to Venice and present the case in front of the Quarantia (Court of Appeals). While the document provides a number of dated decisions which the procuratorial appointee was to appeal in the capital, at the core of the issue was that a sentence against Pelegrinus from half a year earlier had been nullified – and Petrus sent to Venice to change this.¹²⁷

Apart from these appointments, both identified branches of the de Marco family owned a considerable amount of land within Zadar's jurisdiction. For instance, Pelegrinus, stipulating on his behalf and/or on behalf of his brothers, appeared seven times conceding property to colonists. And while it cannot be ruled out that some of the property was re-rented, the total acreage conceded amounted to circa 18.5 hectares near the larger villages of Nin (Nona), Turanj (Torretta/Turretta), Sv Filip i Jakov (Santi Filippo e Giacomo), Kožino (Càproli/Còsino),

¹²⁶ Pelegrinus had at least three brothers – Simon, Bartholomaeus, and Julius – as well as at least three sisters, sor Francischina and sor Ursia, the above-referenced nun in the convent of St Catherine OSB, and Laura. Anzola, their mother, was married to Marcus de Marco, but apparently lived with her children in a house located in Zadar's Sv Ivan kovački (St John's or blacksmith's) parish. Cf. PB I, 1, 8, f34r/f34v, stipulated on 26 March, 1542.

¹²⁷ Petrus was appointed “spetialiter et expresse in lite, seu litibus, quam seu habet quas habet Venetijs in appellatione cum strenuo domino Pellegrino de Marco nomine quo Intervenit causa et occasione ut in sententia diei 27 Julij proxime preteriter lata contra Ipsum dominum Pellegrinum, et ad favorem dicti domini Simonis qua annullatum fuit (...).“ Cf. DC I, 1, 3, f27v–f28v, stipulated on 30 December, 1556.

and Gaženica (Porto Nuovo).¹²⁸ The other branch of the de Marco family¹²⁹, centred around “ser Martinus de Marco alias Mestrouich civis Jadrensis“, a citizen and merchant of Zadar¹³⁰, also possessed land within Jadertine jurisdiction which, too, was conceded to a variety of tenants.¹³¹

Another, more interesting aspect was that, by virtue of marital alliances, the de Marco family was related to at least two other non-noble families of comparable social posture and societal standing. In autumn of 1559, “egregius vir dominus Franciscus de Ventura quondam domini Petri civis Jadre, ex una, et dominus Simon de Marco quondam strenui domini Marci etiam civis, ex altera“ – Pelegrinus’s brother – met “in domo Solita habitationis spectabilis et excellentis Juris utriusque doctoris domini Pasini de Pasinis in confinio Sancti Simeonis Justi.“ The reason was that Franciscus – known by the Venetian administration by the name of “Francesco de Ventura“¹³² – promised the hand of “honesta damicella domina Gasparina eius filia legitima et naturalis“ to Simon. They were, of course, to be married “secundum ritum Sanctae Matris Romanae ecclesiae“, accompanied with a dowry amounting to 700 ducats, of which 550 ducats came from Franciscus and the rest was “iure legati dimissas ipsi domini Francisco per Testamentum quondam domini Laurentij de Ventura alias a Putheo quondam

¹²⁸ These seven contracts reveal that about two thirds of the property belonging to Pelegrinus de Marco and his siblings was located within Zadar’s ager publicus: roughly 12.3 hectares (32 gonjaj near Kožino and 20 gonjaj near Gaženica) were located not far from the city’s fortifications. Another circa 5 hectares were situated in the vicinity of Turanj (21 gonjaj), the remaining five morgen of land referenced in the sources were near Nin (3 gonjaj) and Sv Filip i Jakov (2 gonjaj). For all this information, cf. (in their chronological order) PB I, 1, 9, f4v, stipulated on 25 February, 1542, SB I, 1, 2, f90r/f90v, stipulated on 23 January, 1558, SB I, 1, 3, f185r/f185v, stipulated on 30 May, 1559, DC I, 1, 8, 3, f28r/f28v, stipulated on 18 October, 1560, DC I, 1, 9, f17r, stipulated on 6 November, 1561, GC I, 1, 5, f19v/f20r, stipulated on 17 August, 1562, and ND I, 2, 4, f72r/f72v, stipulated on 4 november, 1565.

¹²⁹ There are no remarks in the notarial protocol books as regards the kinship ties and/or family relations of these two Jadertine families bearing the same surname. It may be possible that these two families were somehow related but the sources are not clear on this matter, especially given the fact that “ser Martinus de Marco alias Mestrouich“, even in contracts involving him and Pelegrinus as the constituent parties, is not referred to as related to his namesake. For an exemplary vending contract involving both individuals, cf. SB I, 1, 3, f192r/f192v, stipulated on 18 June, 1559.

¹³⁰ Cf. SB I, 1, 4, f197r, stipulated on 8 August, 1559.

¹³¹ Martinus’s family possessed considerably less property, as evidenced by the fact that on only three occasions did he concede property: a total of 8 gonjaj near Turanj and 3 more gonjaj near Kukljica on the island of Ugljan off Zadar’s coast are mentioned; these 11 gonjaj equalled roughly 2.6 hectares. For these information, cf. (in their chronological order) JM I, 3, f84v, stipulated on 25 July, 1555, SB I, 1, 2, f87v, stipulated on 11 January, 1558, and SB I, 1, 2, f89v/f90r, stipulated on 21 January, 1558.

¹³² Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 3, 52.

domini Georgij civis Venetijs.¹³³ This comparatively large¹³⁴ and stately dowry was to be paid out accordingly: The 150 ducats from the late Laurentius¹³⁵ and another 100 ducats were paid in specie, the rest was to be paid in both annual instalments of 25 ducats as well as in mobile goods.¹³⁶ A couple of years later, Simon was able to issue a formal quitclaim to his father-in-law after the latter paid the entire dowry.¹³⁷

In addition to this marriage among equally non-noble families of considerable societal standing, the de Marco family's social posture enabled "honesta damicella domina Laura", Simon's sister, to marry upwards. By stipulating on her behalf, her other brother Pelegrinus managed to breach the social boundaries separating the Jadertine noblemen from the commoners. Laura's husband, "dominus Antonius de Begna alias Grascich quondam Damyani nobilis Jadre", was to receive an equally stately dowry worth 600 ducats from Pelegrinus as

¹³³ The marriage contract further stipulated that the late Laurentius's testament was written in Venice on 21 June, 1553, "per dominum Antonium Mariam de Vincentibus notarium Venetum." And while his testament, "in copia Scripta in membrarius per dominum Nicolaum Drasmileum Notarium publicum et Jadrae iuratum", may be somewhere in the DAZd, other documents provide additional background information: Laurentius was a native of Zadar but made his living as a merchant in Venice. For the marriage contract, cf. DC I, 2, 2, f10v–f11v, stipulated on 15. October, 1559, and for the corresponding dowry quitclaim, cf. DC I, 2, 6, stipulated on 29 May, 1565. For the additional information about Laurentius, cf. PB I, 3, stipulated on 11 August, 1549, the occasion was the above-mentioned selling of the contraband grain.

In addition, Laurentius was at least acquainted with Franciscus, probably even related either by blood and/or marriage, however, this fact is not too important as there exists a second reference to the (at least) testamentary bond between the two individuals: In early 1558, "magister Johannes Baptista filius magistri Stephani de Venzone, cerdo habitator Jadre", a master-cobbler, appointed the prominent Jadertine citizen "dominum Franciscum de Ventura to acquire the outstanding 50 ducats promised "in auxilium dotis Magdalenae", Johannes' wife. The financial assistance was to be obtained "ab heredibus quondam domini Laurentij de Puteo olim civis et mercatoris Venetiarum" or any other person responsible for the payment. Cf. SB I, 1, 2, f94r, stipulated on 30 January, 1558.

¹³⁴ As mentioned above, only the noble families of the Tetrici, Rosa, and Civallelli deposited of annual income between 400 and 700 ducats – while the equivalent amount was more than once matched by non-noble fathers. For instance, also the non-noble merchant Lazarus de Pontremulo – who had two daughters – gave his daughter Helena a dowry worth 700 ducats, easily matching the annual income of the (comparatively) wealthiest noble families. For the reference to the three families, Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 197, for Lazarus see Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 259–61, and for Helena's dowry cf. SB I, 1, 3, f148v, stipulated on 15 September, 1558.

¹³⁵ The marriage contract states that "de presenti ducatos centum et quinquaginta, quos ibi ad presentiam dicti domini Judicis examinitoris, meique Notarij et Testium infrascriptorum Idem dominus Franciscus dedit et numeravit dicto domino Simoni in cechinis centum et decem cum dimidio auri ad rationem Librarum 8 solidorum 8 pro singulo cechino (...)." Cf. DC I, 2, 2, f10v–f11v, stipulated on 15 October, 1559.

¹³⁶ The annual payments were to be paid at the end of the year of Gasparina moving in with her husband and to last "de anno in annum usque ad integrum Satisfactionem omni exceptione remota." Cf. DC I, 2, 2, f10v–f11v, stipulated on 15 October, 1559.

¹³⁷ In all, there were two quitclaims, one issued in 1561, the other one two years later. In the former, Simon confessed to have received everything but 97 ducats: "ipse dominus Franciscus restat Solummodo debitor dicti eius generi occasione dicti dotis de ducatis Nonaginta septem dum taxat (...)." Cf. DC I, 2, 2, 3, f43v/f44r, stipulated on 18 January, 1561.

Two years later, Franciscus as able to have paid the rest: "Personaliter constitutus dominus Simon de Marco (...) per se et heredes suos dixit, confessus fuit et publici manifestavit habuisse et se recepisse realiter et cum effectu a domino Francisco Ventura eius socero (...) ducatos quinquaginta ad rationem librarum 6 solidorum 4 pro ducato ex causa dotis dominae Gasparinae (...) ut in Notis mei Notarii sub die xv Octobris 1559 et 28 Januarij 1561 (...)." Cf. DC I, 2, 4, f27v/f28r, stipulated on 2 January, 1563.

well as 50 additional ducats “iure legati dimissos dictae dominae Laurae per quondam dominae Mattheam uxoris in primo matrimonio dicti domini Pellegrini.”¹³⁸

Not only were many of these non-noble families of elevated societal posture related by marriage alliances¹³⁹, they were also instrumental in the functioning of the Venetian defence of the cities, commerce and trade as well as the public administration and other services. For instance, “dominus Paulus de Pasinis Civis ac mercator Jadre” was engaged in mercantile endeavours¹⁴⁰, another member of his family, Pasinus de Pasinis, was a doctor of both laws and a member of the intellectual elite of Zadar.¹⁴¹ Also, “dominus Hieronymus de Laurentijs Civis Jadrensis”¹⁴², mentioned by Venice’s legates to have belonged to her most loyal subjects¹⁴³ and can thus be considered to have belonged to this “*ceto cittadino*” (emphasis in the original).¹⁴⁴ Hieronymus, too, was related to another non-noble family of considerable societal posture by marriage: In the mid-1540s he married the daughter of “dominus Simon Britanicus”, a citizen of Zadar and its “*interpres publicus*.”¹⁴⁵ Accompanying the hand of “domina Francischina filia dicti domini Simonis” was a dowry worth 450 ducats, which was fully paid by the father of the bride in late autumn of 1547.¹⁴⁶

Other than these citizens of elevated societal posture, also the intellectual elite belonged to this category. While the former group was constituted by individuals of the citizenry, only individuals of non-noble descent enjoying citizenship privileges in Zadar fall in this category. For instance, both Pasinus de Pasinis and Simon Britanicus, discussed here above and before,

¹³⁸ Pelegrinus was stipulating on behalf of his sister because their father, Marcus de Marco, was already dead at the time of the marriage. Cf. DC I, 2, 2, f27r/f27v, stipulated on 17 November, 1559.

¹³⁹ In addition to the ties mentioned before, the de Marco family had already established ties with another comparable important Jadertine family, the de Pasinis family, as early as the 1540s (in the context of the present study it must be noted, though, that this does not rule out previous bonds). Another of Marcus de Marco’s daughters, “domine Margarite” was married to “ser Paulus de Pasino quondam ser Joannis civis Jadre”, who belonged to another of Zadar’s very important non-noble families. Cf. JMM I, 2, 1, f24r/f24v, stipulated on 25 September, 1540.

¹⁴⁰ And possessed at least 2.3 hectares of land on Ugljan. Cf. PB I, 1, 9, f36v/f37r, stipulated on 28 January, 1543.

¹⁴¹ He is already referenced above in part 2, but, for instance, he was appointed to represent a fellow Jadertine citizen, “ser Laurentius Zappich (...) ad omnes et Singulas Suas lites et causas” in spring of 1560. Cf. DC I, 2, 2, f40v, stipulated on 12 May, 1560.

¹⁴² Cf. JMM I, 2, 2, stipulated on 29 October, 1547.

¹⁴³ Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 3, 52.

¹⁴⁴ Grubb, “Elite Citizens,” 340.

¹⁴⁵ He is referred to as “egregius vir dominus Simeon Britanicus civis et Interpres publicus Jadrae”, indicating an elevated social posture. Cf. DC I, 1, 3, f27v–f28v, stipulated on 30 December, 1555.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. JMM I, 2, 2, stipulated on 29 October, 1547.

Hieronymus himself had at least one daughter, “Helysabeth”, whom he married to “dominus Georgius de Aymila Nobilis Abrachiae” (Brač/La Brazza). Again, an important and comparatively wealthy commoner who enabled his daughter to marry upwards, transcending the social boundaries – but probably Helysabeth’s dowry worth 500 ducats played a role, too. Cf. DC I, 2, 5, stipulated on 24 July, 1563 (two separate contracts, the *refutatio bonorum* and the subsequent marriage contract).

Franciscus Justus or de Justis (scriba camera fiscalis) as well as the two attorneys/barristers Franciscus Petrouich and Hieronymus de Bassano (causidicus) fit into the behavioural patterns of this group.¹⁴⁷ And while there is no evidence of any requirements for the members of this particular group within the Jadertine citizenry, these remarks offer at least some indications and highlight the potential of future research into this topic and whether or not a service class of elite commoners did formally exist in Venice's dominions, too.¹⁴⁸

8.3. Other Groups of Interest: Croats and Jews

In an attempt to present a more encompassing description of the distinctive groups of importance in sixteenth-century Dalmatian cities, concluding remarks about the non-indigenous¹⁴⁹ parts of the general Jadertine populace fill the next pages. In practical terms, while absent from the reports of Venice's civil and military governors, the – admittedly few – Croats and resident Jews appearing in the protocol books are the focus of this subsection.

As apparent via the analysis of procuratorial appointments in part two, the relations between the coastal communities and the wider Croatian hinterlands were all but negligible around the mid-sixteenth century. Consequently, only a couple of documents in the notarial

¹⁴⁷ "(...) domina Catherina", whose second husband was Franciscus Justus, brought with her a dowry worth 1,263 libras 18 solidi (roughly equivalent to 203 to 204 ducats), paid for by her brother "Reverendo domino Presbytro Martino Cassich Primicerio Pagi", her first husband's brother. Nevertheless, it just may have been as the Cassich family is known to have been one of Pag's noble families. For the dowry quitclaim, cf. JM I, 4, f156r, stipulated on 27 October, 1558, for the reference to the Cassich family, see the report by Giovanni Battista Giustiniani from spring of 1553, Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 2, 259.

For more information about the two attorneys, see part 2, specifically the section labelled intellectual elite. Admittedly, more is known about the de Bassano family, whose connections to other families of both noble as well as non-noble descent match the developing pattern. For instance, Petrus de Bassano, stipulating on behalf of his late brother Michael, paid his niece's dowry of 200 ducats, as "domina Marie eius nepotis ex fratre quondam domini Michaeli" and legitimate wife of "domino Joanni Segotich nobilis Nonensis." Cf. DC I, 2, 2, f4v/f5r, stipulated on 5 October, 1559.

As regards their connections to other non-noble families of considerable societal standing, the following example is of particular interest in the light of the present survey's focus: In summer or autumn of 1553, "domina Hieronyma uxor quondam domini Marci Aurelij Sonzonij Notarij et causidici Jadrensis" gave the hand of her daughter "Madonna Corona" to the above-mentioned "ser Andrea Postner de Gliubgliana." The marriage contract was written by "ser Michiel Geriti Nodao in Candia" (Chaniá/Candia, Crete) and, according to the notarial instruments preserved in the DAZd, included a dowry worth 500 ducats, including a contrados (donatio propter nuptias or counter-dowry) of 200 ducats. Cf. DC I, 1, 1, f34r/f34v, stipulated on 24 November, 1553, and DC I, 1, 1, f37r/f37v, stipulated on 13 January, 1554.

¹⁴⁸ Here, James Grubb's reference to the Libro d'Argento as well as Stanley Chojnacki's works as regards the three Serrate come to mind – but there are no references to such requirements for non-noble elite citizens in Zadar's codified book of statutes. Grubb, "Elite Citizens," 353, Chojnacki, "Third *Serrata*," 263–94, and O'Connell, *Men of Empire*, 57–74, as well as the requirements to register noble children: Ref., cap. 159: "Quod nobiles debeant facere scribere diem matrimonii sui sicut et diem natalem suorum filiorum", Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 674.

¹⁴⁹ In the context of the present study, this term refers to individuals and their families whose were not from among the major cities and towns along the Dalmatian coast but from elsewhere. For the few documented cases, e.g. the lives of Bernardinus Carnarutus (Barne/Brne Karnarutić), Simon Budineus (Šime Budinić), and Theodosius de Begna (Benja), see the information provided above.

records contains details as to the nature and motivation behind these ties. One of the few examples of such connections involved “dominus Franciscus de Ventura quondam domini Petri civis Jadre“, appearing in a notarial instrument in the mid-1560s. His business partner, “dominus Bernardus Michaglieuich de partibus Croatiae (...) Tamquam procurator dominae Hellenae filiae quondam comitis Georgij Bencouich de Plauno“ (Plavno) came a long way, as the remark about the location of the procuratorial appointment suggest. The document was obtained from the “Reverendi capituli Zagrabiensis scripta et rogata iuxta morem dicti loci seu capituli.“¹⁵⁰ At the root of this transaction was the fact that Franciscus leased Hellena his land rights to parts of one of his wooded possessions worth 297 libras 12 solidi “ex lignis nemoris villae Bahelizze“ (location unknown) for the duration of two years, 1563 and 1564. As the tenant’s procurator had paid the outstanding debt, Franciscus issued a formal quitclaim.¹⁵¹

These ties, while not exactly happening on a daily basis, were nothing completely uncommon, as the already discussed presence of the Mogorichia or Mogorić family suggest. Apart from sor Helena Mogorichia in Zadar’s St Catherina convent¹⁵², other individuals bearing the same surname appeared in the notarial records, too. For instance, in spring of 1565, the following three individuals are mentioned: “comes Georgius Mogorich quondam comitis Martini, comes Thomas Mogorich quondam comitis Joannis, et comes Nicolaus Mogorich quondam comitis Francisci, patruus et Nepotes habitatores in partibus Croatiae in loco vocato Bosiglieuo“ (Bosiljevo). The place from where they heeded, Bosiljevo¹⁵³, has been described in the same way as in the example given above, but the motivation behind the stipulation is also telling. The three counts from Croatia leased “spectabili et excellenti doctori domino Simoni Mazzarello nobilis Traguriensis cancellario Magnifici comunitatis Jadrae“ three *ždrijeb* or sors (an area of land roughly equivalent to 30–32 *gonjaj* or 7.1–7.6 hectares).¹⁵⁴ One of these possessions each was located near the villages of “Radohouo“ (location unknown), “Reiane“ (Režane), and near the place named “Franulschina“ (location unknown), all of these places

¹⁵⁰ About 65 kilometres east of Zadar is the city of Plavno, located near Knin (Tenin) at the borders of the present-day administrative subdivisions of Zadarska županija (Zadar county) and Šibinkso–kninska županija (Šibenik–Knin county). The connection between the chapter of Zagreb and Plavno is unclear and the instrument does not provide more information on this issue.

¹⁵¹ Cf. DC I, 2, 6, stipulated on 18 September, 1564.

¹⁵² Cf. SB I, 1, 6, f390r/f390v, stipulated on 26 October, 1559.

¹⁵³ The name of the town is easily identified, however, as there are actually two cities bearing the same name – one in Karlovačka županija (Karlovac county) and the other in Bjelovarsko–bilogorska županija (Bjelovar–Bilogora county) –, this, as noted above in part three, appears to be trickier to pin-point. As a matter of fact, though, the town of Bosiljevo in the former appears to be more likely the place of origin of the Mogorichia family as it simply is located much closer to the coast.

¹⁵⁴ Raukar, *Zadar u XV. stoljeću*, 151–96.

were well within Jadertine jurisdiction. The term of lease agreed upon was ten years and Simon Mazzarello was to pay 26 ducats per annum and in case of any damages – the contract explicitly cites “si (...) infra dictum Terminum annorum decem pateret damnum aliquod, pestis, Belli seu alicuius Incursionis Turcarum, grandinisque Tempestatis cause que Deus avertat (...)” – then the landowners were required to pay damages according to the judgement of jointly appointed estimators.¹⁵⁵

Other than these exemplary references to individuals residing “in partibus Croatiae”¹⁵⁶, there were also a number of soldiers of lesser rank and file serving in the various units.¹⁵⁷ These soldiers appear only very seldom in the notarial instruments, usually when their sold was not forthcoming¹⁵⁸, but occasionally some of them are acting on their own behalf, as happened in summer of 1540. Two soldiers, “Matheus Liuaza, et Bilulus Sbizich sotij de Comitatus strenui domini Nicolai Tetricij nobilis Jadrensis Capitanei equitum Croatorum”, sold two slaves to “Georgio quondam Paulj Marizieuich habitator In Castro Ariolo ditionis Lanzani” (location unknown). The two individuals for sale, “duos Captivos turchas pueros alterum nomine Balia etatis annorum Circa decem alterum vero nomine Schenderbeg etatis annorum Circa sex.” Both were ‘captured’ near “Castro Razane (Ražanac/Rassanze, the author) territorio Turcharum Capturatos”, and were sold for the total price of 30 ducats, which were paid in its entirety in gold coins.¹⁵⁹ Of course, these military personnel constituted the majority of Croats appearing in the sources, most of them remained unnamed¹⁶⁰ and, if they do appear, then only implicitly every time a military unit commanded by either nobles of Zadar like Nicolaus Tetricus, other individuals of aristocratic descent like the Mogorichia/Mogorić fam-

¹⁵⁵ In addition to these clauses, the tenant was also explicitly allowed to “incidi facere (...) in nemore ville Terschiane” (Tršćane/Terschiane). For all the information above, cf. DC I, 2, 6, stipulated on 29 May, 1565.

¹⁵⁶ Quoted after the above-mentioned instrument, cf. DC I, 2, 6, stipulated on 29 May, 1565.

¹⁵⁷ As mentioned above, for instance, on board a naval vessel or in a light cavalry unit. Cf. ND I, 1 E, stipulated on 4 December, 1542, for the former, or PB I, 1, 7, f40r–f41r, stipulated on 1 January, 1540, for the latter.

¹⁵⁸ See also the procuratorial analysis in part 2.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. ND I, 1, B, stipulated on 30 August, 1540.

¹⁶⁰ The one exception of this rule as regards soldiers – not oarsmen – was the contract listing more than forty of the soldiers of Nicolaus Tetricus's company. See the relevant section in part two based on PB I, 1, 7, f40r–f41r, stipulated on 1 January, 1540.

ily¹⁶¹, and other individuals residing in the coastal hinterlands like “Joanni Rimanich capitano crouatorum de Sliuniza” (Slivnica/Slivnizza)¹⁶² are mentioned.

Let us now turn to the individuals of the Jewish faith of whom, over the last decade of the period under survey, some appeared in the notarial instruments, proving Benjamin Arbel's assertion¹⁶³ correct for mid–sixteenth–century central Dalmatia. The number of Jews living in Zadar around that time was very small. Analysis of the notarial protocols revealed only eighteen named individuals.¹⁶⁴ The next few pages are dedicated to them but it is necessary to point out two more issues. First, as indicated by the over–all direction of scholarly literature on the Jews of Venice over the past decades¹⁶⁵ and underlined by recent studies¹⁶⁶, the subsequent remarks focus on two aspects, namely the importance of Jewish kinship relations on the one hand and their preference for contacts among themselves on the other hand. And second, as will be shown in the remarks on interpersonal ties between individuals below, their over–all number around in mid–sixteenth century Zadar was very low. This is further evidenced not only by the absence of clauses referring to Jews in both the Zadarski statut and the Commis-

¹⁶¹ Apart from the examples referenced above, it is worth pointing out that the Mogorichia/Mogorić family conducted business not only with the Mazzarellus family originally from Trogir but also with Gabriel Cernotta, another of Zadar's notaries public of aristocratic descent but from Rab (Arbe). In autumn of 1561, the same Johannes and Georgius Mogorich leased all their possessions near Tršćane in exchange for the annual rent of 20 ducats to the Jadertine notary. Cf. NC I, 2, f13r, stipulated on 12 September, 1561.

On the same day, probably because they were already in Zadar, the Mogorich brothers, “filij ex quondam dominae Catherinae Jacoucich”, appointed “excellentem leges utriusque doctorem dominum Franciscus Fumatum, et dominum Hieronymum Cortesium causidicum Jadrensis” to recover 4 ždrijeb (or sors, roughly equivalent to 28.4 to 30.3 hectares). The property itself was located in villa Veterinichj” (Veterinići/Veterinici), belonged to the constituents' mother, and was to be recovered “ab hereditibus quondam comitis Gasparis Jacoucich eorum avunculi, vel a tutoribus eorumdem heredum, aut a quibusvis alijs persones.” Cf. NC I, 2, f13v, stipulated on 12 September, 1561.

¹⁶² In spring of 1553, “Marcus Jelacich de Varicassane, et Jacobus Fogusich de Sliuniza uti tutores filiorum pupillorum in etate minori (...) Pauli filij quondam Petri Ceruanich et alterius Pauli filij quondam Micaheli Ceruanich de Sliuniza”, appointed in the ducal chancellery of Zadar on 20 February, 1553, sold three quarters of a gonjaj (or morgen, roughly equivalent to 1,770.5 square metres) to “strenuo Joanni Rimanich capitano crouatorum de Sliuniza.” Located near the village of Slivnica “super Terreno Magnificorum dominorum de cha Venerio”, the Croatian military commander paid 31 libras 4 soldi for the patch of land. Cf. FT I, 2, f32r, stipulated on 13 March, 1553.

¹⁶³ “(...) Hebrews were quasi everywhere in the Stato da mar,” quoted after Arbel, “Colonie d'oltremare,” 974.

¹⁶⁴ It is necessary, though, to point out that this is by no means the total number of Jews then–present because, for instance, in three cases children and/or a spouse(s) are not named but implicitly mentioned. As a consequence, the total number of individuals of the Jewish faith was definitely higher than the number identified above suggests.

Apart from the works cited above, a good starting point for future endeavours is Reinhold C. Mueller, “The Status and Economic Activity of Jews in the Venetian Dominions during the Fifteenth Century,” in *Wirtschaftsgeschichte der mittelalterlichen Juden: Fragen und Einschätzungen*, ed. Michael Toch (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2008), 63–92.

¹⁶⁵ For references and starting points thereto, see both the introduction as well as the part one.

¹⁶⁶ See, inter alia, Möschter, *Juden im venezianischen Treviso*, Kenneth Stow, *Theater of Acculturation: The Roman Ghetto in the sixteenth century* (Seattle and London: Univ. of Washington Press, 2001), and Robert I. Burns, *Jews in the Notarial Culture: Latinate Wills in Mediterranean Spain, 1250–1350* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1996).

siones but also by the non-existence of Jewish notaries in central Dalmatia¹⁶⁷, although the latter most likely changed over the last decades of the sixteenth century thanks to Daniel Rodriga's efforts.¹⁶⁸

The first of the examples offered to support this hypothesis revolves around the slightly ambiguous ties between two Jewish families present in Zadar around the mid-sixteenth century. In winter of 1567, "honesta damicella dona Laura filia legitima et naturalis ser Melis Zizo hebrei habitatoris Jadra" formally renounced her then-future claims on her father's patrimony in exchange for a dowry promise.¹⁶⁹ Roughly two weeks later the corresponding marriage contract was drawn up "Inter excellentem dominum Salvatorem Alfari artium et medicinae doctorem hebreum ex una et dominam Lauram filiam ser Mellis Zizo hebrei ex altera." In it, the stipulating parties remark on an agreement on the dowry "scripta letteris hebraicis manu Jacobi Sassi Venetijs habitatoris et Subscripto manu duarum Testium." Thus, Laura's husband formally issued a quitclaim to his father-in-law after having received her dowry of 150 ducats in specie and 200 ducats "in Tot bonis mobilibus" and vice-versa Laura issued a

¹⁶⁷ Neither the codified communal laws issued by Zadar's governors and printed in Venice in 1563/64 nor the reports and directives presented to the Senate mention Jews. Consequently, also most scholarly literature on central Dalmatia during the 16th century refrain from doing so. It is necessary at this point, though, to stress that the absence of publications as regards this particular aspect may be subject to change.

As Benjamining Arbel has pointed out, the Jews of Zadar were expelled in 1568, maybe explaining why, in combination with their low numbers in central Dalmatia, no Jews were mentioned in the notarial protocol books in the last year before the Cyprus War (1569). There may well exist a connection between the Venetian chronicle mentioning the expulsion of Zadar's Jews and their absence in the notarial protocol books after 1568. Also the *Zadarski statut* does not mention anything as regards Jews in particular. In combination with the fact that the present study concludes with 1569, this matter may only be addressed and potentially resolved by future research. For the reference to the expulsion of Zadar's Jews, see Arbel, *Tading Nations*, 63.

¹⁶⁸ For the efforts of Daniel Rodriga in general, follow Paci, *Scala di Spalato*.

One notarial act from 1568 mentions Daniel Rodriga, referring to him as "console dilla Nation hebrea in Narenta." Interestingly, the notarial act in question was a quitclaim issued by "Hasi Memri, Iusuf, Alli Caraoruz, Hasan et Ferhat Mossolmani di Bossnia", then-present in Zadar with "uno Navilio di Mercantia" on their way to Ancona. As the contract further notes, the merchant ship was carrying "Robbe, Cioè cinquantasei Balle di Moltonine et Cordouani tinolti in Schiavenotti, nelle quali sono pelle Cinquemillianovecento e ottanta, cioe 5,980, Balle di Cerra numero Tre, Balle Vinticinque de Cori Crudi, et Sono Cori dusento et centadoi." The merchandise was initially on the "Marciliana de Petro Bonifacio da Curzola", stolen by Uskoks but "recuperatarum di mano loro." Clearly, Daniel Rodriga was well-established in Dalmatia before 1568 and commerce did not know inter-faith problems. For the contract, cf. JM I, 6, f34r/f34v, stipulated on 25 March, 1568.

Renzo Paci's study dates the first (possible) documented appearance of Daniel Rodriga (or Rodriguez) in the Adriatic to the year 1573; 'possible' because Renzo Paci suggests that the proposal for a free harbour in Split was, "forse suggerito al *sangiaccio* dall'ebreo Daniel Rodriguez (...)," – but the above-referenced contract clearly shows that Daniel Rodriga was present in Dalmatia and renown for his consulship of the Jewish inhabitants in the Ottoman-controlled areas even beyond the Ottoman-Venetian borders at least five years earlier. This, in turn, suggests that he may have arrived even well before the Cyprus War because by 1568 he was already referred to as consul, a title positioning him well above the other Jews and, possibly, even taking a certain period of time to achieve. For the quote, see Paci, *Scala di Spalato*, 48 (emphasis in the original).

Rodriga, though, was not the only Iberian Jew seeking his fortunes in the Eastern Mediterranean: Also one "ser Mayr Choen hispano hebreo banchario Jadre habitatori" clearly demonstrates the presence of Hispanic Jews in the Adriatic. See also the information provided below, for the reference here, cf. PB I, 3, stipulated on 15 January, 1549.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. CC I, 1, 1, f3r, stipulated on 30 January, 1567.

quietatio upon receipt of her counter-dowry of 175 ducats.¹⁷⁰ Let us now investigate what else Mele Zizo did while residing in Zadar's parish of St Simeon, in a house he rented from the Crissana family.¹⁷¹

As early as 1532 or 1533, Mele Zizo married "madona Preciosa figliola de madona Stella Marcilia uxor quondam ser Rafael Belinfante" in the Apulian town of Monopoli "ad costume Ebraico," as the instrument specifically noted.¹⁷² Mele and his wife not only had a daughter, Laura, but also a son, "Salamon", whose initial dowry agreement was drawn up "nella città d'Ancona, uno in Hebreo et l'altro in lingua Latina." And despite the exact date is not given, the formal dowry quitclaim was stipulated on the last day of March, 1562. In it, it is written that Salomon's wife, "dona Perla sua moglie figlia del quondam Mele Belinfante hebreo", brought with her a dowry of 220 ducats both "in denari et robbe" and that her husband offered a counter-dowry of 50 ducats. In addition, as a consequence of Salomon's early death, Mele Zizo (or Zezzo) acted as Perla's counterpart and "gubernator di detti pupillj et bonatenente del detto quondam Salamon suo figlio."¹⁷³ So far, so good – but now for the afore-mentioned ambiguity: Perla's father, Mele Belinfante, was actually the brother of afore-mentioned Preciosa, the wife of Mele Zizo – which made both Mele brothers-in-law whose children, in turn, married each other.¹⁷⁴

Other than these family matters, the few resident Jews were very much involved in a number of business interactions. Mele Zizo, for instance, was engaged in money-lending¹⁷⁵, as evidenced by the following examples from the mid-1540s. Two other Jews, "ser Abramus

¹⁷⁰ Cf. CC I, 1, 1, f4v/f5r, stipulated on 12 February, 1567.

¹⁷¹ As revealed in an instrument arbitrating the feud "inter dominum Petrum de Crissanis filium domini Donati uti donatrium dominae Ursiae eius amitae filiae quondam domini Simonis filij quondam domini Boyci heredis substitutae ex testamento dicti quonda domini Boyci quondam Lancilagi eius avi paterni." The reason for the proceedings was the inheritance of the fifth part "omnium et singulorum bonorum stabiliu dicti quondam domini Boyci," in all a quite impressive list of possessions: "Tutta la villa di Snoyaci" (Snojaci/Snoiaci), circa 22 ždrijev (or sors) of real estate scattered across the districts of Nin (Nona) and Zadar (Zara), and "La casa ove stanno li hebrei a San Simeon," including storage rooms. Cf. SM I, 1, 2, stipulated on 22 March, 1556.

¹⁷² Cf. CC I, 1, 1, f44v, stipulated on 23 May, 1567.

¹⁷³ GC I, 1, 5, f3r-f4r, stipulated on 31 March, 1562.

¹⁷⁴ This piece of information is revealed in a procuratorial instrument from two decades earlier: "domina Stella uxor quondam domini Rafaelis Belinfante hebrei habitatrix Jadrae" required a legal representative. Thus she appointed "excellensem dominum David Chalonimos hebreum fisicum (...) ad omnes lites causas, et differentias quas habet vel habitura Est a Mele Belinfante filio ipsius constituentis (...)." Cf. ND I, 1, E, stipulated on 7 February, 1543.

Also, Mele Zizo had another daughter, "honestam damicella domina Bonaventura filia legitima et Naturalis ser Mellis Zizo hebrej Nunc habitatoris Jadrensis," of whom, unfortunately, nothing else is known. Cf. PB I, 2, 14, stipulated on 18 September, 1560.

¹⁷⁵ This claim is not only supported by the subsequent remarks but also by the location of one of the afore-referenced marriage-related contracts, drawn up "In apotheca sive banco dicti ser Melis Subtus domus habitationis Eiusdem." Cf. CC I, 1, 1, f3r, stipulated on 30 January, 1567.

Vigleta hebreus quondam Isach de Alexandria, ac Juda, sive Leonus Gomiel hebreus quondam Joseph de dicto Loco“, gave Mele 400 ducats. While the location in which Mele Zizo actually received the money is not mentioned in the source, he paid it back in Zadar “parti in auro, ac parti in monetis“, thus the two Alexandrines issued a formal quitclaim.¹⁷⁶ About a decade later, Mele Zizo and his money-lending business again attracted an even increased level of attention. According to a sentence formally issued by a jointly-appointed arbitration judge, “excellente leges utriusque doctore domino Petro Fanfoneo“, Mele Zizo was required to restitute the total sum of 6,504 libras 14 soldi (roughly equivalent to 1,050 ducats) to “domina Regina uxor quondam ser Gabrielis Bellinfante Hebrei, uti mater, tutrix, et legitima gubernatrix filiorum pupillorum dicti quondam ser Gabrielis, ser Melle de Ariano, et ser Mahir Cohen hebrei uti cotutores.“ On a sidenote, another remark in the same notarial instrument further underlines Mele Zizo's importance as regards his banking operations in both Zadar and Apulia.¹⁷⁷

Among the other few Jews then present in Zadar, “ser Mayr Choen hebreo hispano nunc Jadre habitatori“, first mentioned in the second half of the 1540s, stood out. As the additions to his name already suggest, he (or his forbearers) most likely originated from within the Spanish areas of influence. Not much more about his provenance is known, however, he obviously moved to Dalmatia not long before. Apart from the above-referenced context, Mayr Choen appeared in two more notarial instruments from early 1548. In the first of these two, he lent the sum of 105 scuti auri (slightly more than 115 ducats¹⁷⁸) to “ser Jacobus Bono patronus marciliane, Civis, ac habitator Jadrensis.“¹⁷⁹ In the second instrument, stipulated on the same day but after the credit had been agreed upon, the same two constituents agreed to form a “societas“, a business form long in use for long-distance trading ventures originating in the

¹⁷⁶ Cf. PB I, 1, 10, f48r, stipulated on 10 June, 1545.

¹⁷⁷ Upon the receipt of the 6,504 libras 14 soldi, the co-tutors jointly issue a formalised quitclaim, officially acknowledging the end of the feud “(...) tam occasione banchi Jadre, et apothece Simul habitj Apulie (...).“ Cf. JM I, 3, f45r/f45v, stipulated on 7 February, 1555.

¹⁷⁸ 1 scudo was struck “ad rationem librarum 6 solidorum 16“, as the above-mentioned contract mentions. The amount of slightly more 115 ducats (convertible into 6 libras 4 soldi) is calculated on the basis that 1 scudo equalled 136 soldi while 1 ducat was worth 124 soldi. For the reference to the exchange rate between scudi, libras, and soldi, cf. PB I, 3, stipulated on 28 February, 1548.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. PB I, 3, stipulated on 28 February, 1548.

Middle Ages.¹⁸⁰ Jacobus Bono and Mayr Choen both agreed to bring in 105 scudi in capital, raising the total amount of money to twice that sum. Jacobus was then “Teneatur, pro ut se obtulit exercere Arte mercantium, tam in Emendo ipsas mercantias Cuiuscumque Sortis, ac conditionis, ad Sui Libitum, tamquam pro ut ipsi ser Jacobo melius videbitur ac placuerit (...).“ If all went accordingly, then Jacobus was to receive two thirds of the profits, in case it went wrong, the losses were to be divided in equal shares.¹⁸¹ Both instruments were written “in domo habitationis mej Notarij Infrascriptj (Petrus de Bassano, the author) posita ex opposito Ecclesiae Sancte Catherine.“¹⁸²

One final example of the widespread connections that came with Jewish individuals and/or families living everywhere is documented in an instrument from early 1562. In mid-January “domina Margarita filia quondam domini Iseppi Gavatti de Padua et domina Lucietta filia quondam celeberrimi domini Philippi Trono Procuratoris Divi Marci,“ appointed “Magnificum dominum Marcum Faletruo quondam celeberrimi domini Luce patricium Venetum“ to be their joint procurator. As the matter involved not only Venetian nobles with considerably ele-

¹⁸⁰ Such business forms, known as *collegantia*, *colleganza* or *societas maris* – a contractual form of limited partnership in commerce – were widely used during the Middle Ages, and were the legal framework of maritime long-distance commerce and trade. Closely related to the *commenda*, it became adapted and integrated to Venetian commercial practices under the terms above. Appearing in Venice as early as the tenth century, such an agreement was “a form of productive investment of capital“ in which, as the example above clearly shows, no restrictions as to one of the contracting parties being a holder of said investment existed. For the referenced statement, see Max Weber, *The History of Commercial Partnerships in the Middle Ages*, trans. and Lutz Kaelber (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), 73.

As far as Zadar was concerned, an entire book of its communal statutory law was dedicated to maritime affairs. It must be stressed that this section of the legal codex is part of the legislation in existence prior to Venice’s (second) take-over in 1409, not only testifying to the importance of maritime trade for coastal towns per se. What is equally impressive is the sheer number of pages – read: space – dedicated to these matters, in all 83 individual chapters detailing the most important issues, which were not amended by the new suzerains after 1409. See Lib. IV: “De navigiis et navibus,“ Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 394–460.

Apart from this general legal framework, see also the more specific provisions in Lib. III., tit. II: “De pecunia data in collegantiam,“ containing two chapters with additional details, as well as the single-chapter Lib. III, tit. III: “De societate.“ Ibid., 250–4.

Further, see Robert S. Lopez, *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World: Illustrative Documents* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 2001), 174–8, for a model contract, and John H. Pryor, “The Origins of the *Commenda* Contract,“ *Speculum* 52, no. 1 (1977): 5–37. In addition to older works by, for instance, Slavomir Condenari-Michler, *Zur frühvenezianischen Collegantia* (Munich: Beck, 1937) and Wilhelm Silberschmidt, *Die Commenda in ihrer frühesten Entwicklung bis zum XIII. Jahrhundert* (Würzburg: Stuber, 1884), for an approach as regards the legal components of these contracts, see Albrecht Cordes, “Gewinnteilungsprinzipien im hansischen und oberitalienischen Gesellschaftshandel des Spätmittelalters,“ in *Wirkungen europäischer Rechtskultur: Festschrift für Karl Kroeschell zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Gerhard Köbler and Hermann Nehlsen (Munich: Beck, 1997), 133–50.

¹⁸¹ It is necessary to point out that Mayr Choen was to profit in any which ways this *societas* worked out as he provided the entire capital in the first place, evidenced by the credit instrument cited before. Jacobus was already Mayr’s debtor for the former’s share of the capital and, if things were to go as planned, stood to gain 16 % of the total profits. Conversely, if things were to go awry, the division of the risk (i.e. capital) in equal parts ensured that Mayr was to lose only what he would have lost in any way, while Jacobus, while bearing all the risk, was to lose his ship, potentially all tangible assets on it, and would have still had to pay back the creditor.

¹⁸² For both contracts, cf. PB I, 3, stipulated on 28 February, 1548.

vated social posture, the notary public even added that Lucietta acted “cum presentia et consensum ad abundantio rem cautelam domini Curtij filij strenui domini Joannis de Suave capitj Militum ad custodiam castri Novigradi districtus Jadrensis eius mariti.” The task of the Marcus Falier was to obtain “partem et portionem bonorum quondam dominae Milie eius Sororis” as well as “omnes et quacumque pecuniarum Sumas (...) Venetijs in Ghetto in banco filiorum quondam consilij hebrei.”¹⁸³ Fortunately, a second document from April of 1564, in which Johannes de Suave confirmed the receipt of the money, has been preserved, too. In it, Margarita's father-in-law issued a formal quitclaim after having received the outstanding amount of 50 ducats and 12 Grossi from Marcus Falier, thus absolving the procuratorial appointee from future debt payments.¹⁸⁴

All these examples illustrate quite vividly what Benjamin Arbel so candidly remarked about.¹⁸⁵ Furthermore, especially the last two documents provide more than ample evidence of the medieval and early modern characteristics of Mediterranean urban centres. The fact that the constituent parties were living in Novigrad at the time of the stipulation of the former instrument, easily connects Novigrad (Novegradi) and Zadar in central Dalmatia with Padua and the Ghetto in Venice. Furthermore, the fact that Venetian officials – if they were married – may have brought their spouses and/or families with them to the posts they have been assigned to, further highlights potential for future research into early modern mobility.

8.4. Zadar's Urban Landscape

In a final assessment, first steps into Zadar's urban landscape, its uses, and its importance to the citizenry are discussed.¹⁸⁶ The approach thereto is twofold: First, an overview of the locations in which the more than 2,000 individual instruments in which real estate property was transferred – either by selling, renting, or conceding it – in both areas within and outside the

¹⁸³ The instrument itself was “Actum in castro Novigradi, presentibus Magnifico domino Andrea Delfino dignissimo castellano dicti castri, et strenuo Baptista Vegnola comestabile Jadrensis, testibus habitis rogatis et cetera.” For all the information contained and quoted in this paragraph, cf. SM I, 1, 9, stipulated on 13 January, 1562.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. SM I, 1, 10, stipulated on 4 April, 1564.

¹⁸⁵ Arbel, “Colonie d'oltremare,” 974.

¹⁸⁶ Of course, given the brevity with which the present study addresses this particular field, only cursory and tentative statements constituting not more than potential starting points for future research. Up until recently, concepts of urban history were subject to research focusing on their governments and/or founding, argued Martina Löw. Consequently to her arguments, the following pages attempt to sketch two of her three points identified deemed necessary for future (sociological) approaches to urban research: apart from conceptually understanding the impetus of actions having an effect of the city itself, the isolation of the various structural elements of a city is necessary (her third point being the comparative analysis of a number of cities taking their similarities empirically into account). For more detailed information, see Martina Löw, *Soziologie der Städte* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2008), 15–73, especially her three points referred to on pages 66–8.

city walls. The second part of the subsequent remarks focuses on specific aspects of the former, based on data gathered from the 255 individual vending contracts explicitly referring to property bought and sold in Zadar between 1 January, 1540, and 31 December, 1569.

The city proper was organised in more than twenty ecclesiastical parishes¹⁸⁷, augmented by a small number of secular local toponyms, more than nine out of ten notarial instruments were drawn up in one of the following locations:

Table 13: Locations in which Notarial Acts were stipulated (1540 to 1569)

	emptions ^a	locationes ^b	concessioness ^c	civitas ^d	total ^e	ø 1540–69 ^f
apotheca ¹	154	30	35	35	254	12.5 %
cancellaria ²	144	31	86	40	301	14.9 %
domus ³	288	58	98	85	529	26.1 %
ecclesia ⁴	30	27	16	13	86	4.2 %
platea ⁵	372	46	211	70	699	34.5 %
other ⁶	79	34	32	12	157	7.7 %
	1,067	226	478	255	2,026	99.9 %

Sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JM (1545–1569), JMM (1540–1554), MAS (1544–1548), NC (1558–1567), ND (1540–1566), PB (1540–1569), PS (1545–1551), SB (1556–1565), SM (1555–1567). In all, 2,026 individual contracts were analysed.

- (a) Lists the numbers of the locations in which the emptions (vending instruments) were stipulated.
- (b) Lists the numbers of the locations in which the locationes (rental instruments) were stipulated.
- (c) Lists the numbers of the locations in which the concessioness (concessions instruments) were stipulated.
- (d) Lists the numbers of the locations in which the emptions (vending instruments) of real estate property within Zadar proper were stipulated. For more information about this category, see below.
- (e) Lists the total number of individual contracts for the three-decade average consisting of the combination of the four different types of property transaction-related contracts and their locations of stipulation.
- (f) Lists the average three-decade percentages for the above-mentioned four categories.
- (1) Denotes all the contracts stipulated “in apotheca (...)”; while many of these business/storage facilities were located close by or on Zadar’s main square, this category may appear a bit arbitrarily but as these locations were distinctively reported in slightly more than a tenth of all instruments, they merit mentioning in a category of their own.
- (2) Denotes all the contracts stipulated in one of the city’s chancelleries which, for practical purposes, combines the three offices of the communal, criminal, and ducal chancelleries in this category; this has been done because, for instance, Johannes and his son Simon Mazzarellus (who both were communal chancellors) or Johannes a Morea (cancellarius ad criminalium) were also stipulating instruments in and outside their offices;
- (3) Denotes all the contracts stipulated in private houses; no differences were made between houses of stone, wood, or a combination of these building materials.
- (4) Denotes all the contracts stipulated on ecclesiastical property including churches, convents, and other property such as cloisters or the doorsteps of chapels and/or church buildings.
- (5) Denotes all the contracts publicly stipulated within Zadar, including the main square (today it is called Narodni trg or People’s Square) communal loggia, the jurists’ bench (on the opposite side of the loggia), drawn up on the main square or any other urban square.
- (6) Denotes the less than 10 % of contracts drawn up without specifically mentioning where the instruments were stipulated and/or instruments stipulated elsewhere.

¹⁸⁷ For the introductory chapter to Zadar, see Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 27–62, and the map of Zadar proper provided by the authors on page 135.

As table 13 shows, a relative majority of instruments were drawn up within the public sphere. Slightly more than a third of all contracts were stipulated on one of the city's squares and/or adjacent structures considered to have been within the public space of the commune, for instance the loggia or the jurists' bench, both situated on the main square (present-day Narodni trg or People's Square).

The second-largest individual segment in table 13 is the category 'domus', describing the over-all share of all instruments drawn up in houses belonging to the inhabitants of Zadar. On average, this was the case in 26.1 % during the three decades under survey. More interesting, though, is the fact that 330 individual contracts out of the total of 529 were stipulated in the 'privacy' of houses belonging to members of Zadar's nobility. On many occasions, this meant that the notarial acts were written in the presence of the communal official whose signature was required to validate any instrument.¹⁸⁸ Based on these facts, further questions about concepts of privacy and the corresponding allocation of public spaces in pre-modern times may need to be re-examined but must be left to future studies. What can be stated, though, is the proposition that the houses of the nobility – in which slightly less than two thirds of all instruments in the 'domus' category were drawn up¹⁸⁹ – were not 'private' buildings but should be considered *semi-private* or *semi-public*. This assumption is backed up by the fact that Zadar's statutory law provided clauses necessitating communal officials – one of the duke's four councillors or one of the judge-examiners¹⁹⁰ – to validate any notarial act within three days after it had been written irrespective of the location of this formality.¹⁹¹

The same should apply to the other two categories involving semi-private/public locations of stipulation, namely the categories 'apotheca' (254 individual contracts or 12.5 %) and 'cancellaria' (301 notarial acts or 14.9 %). While the former refers to commercially used retail or storage facilities, the latter comprises the city's three main administrative bodies, the communal, criminal, and ducal chancelleries. Both sub-categories, for the same reasons as

¹⁸⁸ All notaries public were required to transcribe the instruments into their books within three days after payment, see Lib. II, tit. XVI, cap. 113: "Quod notarius recepta solutione, postquam rogatus fuerit a partibus, contractum de verbo ad verbum in libro imbreuiatarum ponere teneatur." Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 210.

¹⁸⁹ The numbers are clear on this: 330 out of the three-decade total of the above-mentioned 529 were stipulated in houses belonging to members of Zadar's nobility. These 330 individuals made up 16.3 % compared with the over-all 2,026 contracts – but constituted 62.4 % of the 'domus' sub-category. See also the appendix for detailed maps, statistics, and tables.

¹⁹⁰ For the legal framework, see Ref., cap. 116: "De officio iudicum examinatorum." Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 598–600.

¹⁹¹ Again, see Lib. II, tit. XVI, cap. 113: "Quod notarius recepta solutione, postquam rogatus fuerit a partibus, contractum de verbo ad verbum in libro imbreuiatarum ponere teneatur." Ibid., 210.

outlined above, fall in the semi-private/public sphere: The apothecae were mainly possessed by non-noble individuals engaged in a variety of economic activities, they also served as locations in which notarial acts were written and validated by public officials. Likewise, the role of the chancellories was not as clear-cut as one suspected in the first place as some of the notaries public upon whose protocol books the present study is based were working as cancellors. These were Johannes a Morea who was cancellarius ad criminalium, Johannes Michael Mazzarellus, and his son Simon Mazzarellus, both serving at least a part of their public life as Zadar's cancellarius communitatis. Of the total number of 301 individual instruments drawn up in one of the three chancellories, these three notaries wrote more slightly more than a third at their workplaces. Consequently, it can be assumed that these public offices were frequently used for private purposes, too, suggesting that both the 'apotheca' and the 'cancellaria' categories should be considered in the semi-private/public contextual group as well.

Combined, the three above-mentioned groups ('apotheca', 'cancellaria', and 'domus') contain 1,084 individual notarial acts or 53.5 % of the total number of instruments transferring real estate property stipulated over the entire period under survey. Their combined share easily exceeded the 'platea' category's – read: fully public – percentage, begging further questions as to the perceived *public-ness* versus *private-ness* of the various components of any pre-modern settlement.

As regards the scale of the real estate property market within Zadar's city, the following table comes in handy. Before examining the subsequent sets of data, it is necessary to stress that the most striking difference is the relation between female and male stipulating parties compared to the other three cited real estate property transactions. While in the former, the averages amounted to 12.3 % (female constituent parties) and 4.4 % (female recipient parties), table 14 below shows this was different as regards property transactions within the city walls.

Table 14: Property Market in Zadar proper, Overview (1540 to 1569)

	no. of acts ^a	% of total ^b	Latin ^c	'Italian' ^d	♀ sellers ^e	♀ buyers ^f
1540s	81	31.8 %	81	–	19	14
1550s	71	27.8 %	71	2	16	15
1560s	103	40.4 %	100	21	21	19
	255	100 %	252	3	56	48

Sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JM (1545–1569), JMM (1540–1554), NC (1558–1567), ND (1540–1566), PB (1540–1569), PS (1545–1551), SB (1556–1565), SM (1555–1567). In all, 255 individual contracts were analysed.

Table 14 shows an overview of the procuratorial instruments upon which the subsequent analysis is based. See also the appendix for more details.

- (a) Lists the over-all numbers of vending instruments for the three decades from 1 January, 1540, to 31 December, 1569.
- (b) Lists the share of the single decades relative to the over-all number in the respective decades.
- (c) Lists the over-all number of individual instruments written in Latin corresponding to the relative decade. The bottom line gives the total number of notarial acts written in Latin.
- (d) This gives the average percentages of female tenants for the three decades, measured by women being the only stipulating party and/or additions like *mulier sui juris*. The brackets contain the respective number of individual contracts. The percentage and number given in the last row is the three-decade average.
- (e) Based upon the above-mentioned 255 individual instruments, the following characteristics Zadar's describe real estate property market.¹⁹² First, as far as the two highest social strata are concerned, their combined over-all share of the market averages between 13.3 % (buyers) and slightly less than a quarter of the sellers. As a consequence, urban property sales were firmly dominated by the non-noble segments of society, making the artisans, merchants, soldiers, and the 'rest' of the commoners responsible for four out of five property transactions.¹⁹³ While the combined share of both nobility and clergy averaged at slightly less than a quarter of all selling parties (24.3 %), their percentage among the buying parties dropped ten percent (13.3 %). This picture changed considerably as regards the other groups of interest, namely the artisans, soldiers, and merchants of Zadar. Among both selling and buying parties, three out of ten instruments refer to one of them as sellers (27.8 % and 30.6 %, respectively).¹⁹⁴ The intelligence averaged around four percent in both categories, but the afore-mentioned 'rest' made up circa half of all constituent parties among both sellers and buyers (44.3% among the former and 51.4 % among the latter).

Comparable to the other parts of Zadar's real estate markets discussed above, about four out of five stipulating parties originated from within the city proper, its suburban dwellings, and

¹⁹² At this point, it must be stressed that the data and numbers above can only be used with caution. Of the 255 individual instruments transferring real estate property in Zadar proper between 1540 and 1569, almost three quarters detail transfers of either a *domus* (house, 89 times or 34.9 %) or *domuncula* (smaller house, 90 times or 35.3 %), in additional 35 times (or 13.7 %) a part of a house or smaller house was sold, built out of stone, wood, or both. In all, these three groups combined made up 214 (or 83.9 %) out of the 255 contracts, the 'rest' included property such as *apotheca/magazenum* (business/storage facility), *canipa* (tavern), *domunculeta* (very small house or hut), and vacant lots. In short, all these differences between the value of the transferred property means that both data and numbers must be viewed with considerable caution as, obviously, certain liberties had to be taken for practical purposes.

¹⁹³ The percentages for the nobility and the clergy are 24.3 % for the sellers and, even lower, 13.3 % for the buyers. Consequently, 75.6 % of the sellers and 86.7 % of the buyers belonged to the ranks of the commoners. See also the appendix for detailed maps, tables, and statistics.

¹⁹⁴ The three-decade averages among the selling parties for the artisans is 20.4 %, easily making them the most active group, followed by 4.7 % (soldiers), and 2.7 % for the merchants. Opposed thereto, the numbers for the buying parties are slightly different – 16.5 % (artisans), 6.3 % (soldiers), and 7.8 % (merchants), with the main structural difference being the considerable increase of the soldiers' and merchants' share. See also the appendix for detailed maps, tables and statistics.

the area known as Astarea.¹⁹⁵ And while there is no clearly visible increase in the over-all number of individuals from within Zadar's jurisdiction but living outside the city walls, this most likely changed in the decades after the conclusion of the Cyprus War. This conflagration constituted a watershed in terms of the appearance of the city and its purlieu itself. This held true especially after the perceived defence necessities required the inhabitants of Zadar's suburbs to leave their dwellings which were subsequently razed to make place for additional fortifications after 1570.¹⁹⁶

In general, the urban space was organised in parishes centred around the city's more than twenty parochial churches. Also, most available data was compiled in the third volume of *Prošlost Zadar* but lacks a more precise survey of the city and how its urban landscape changed from the Middle Ages to the sixteenth century. This is clearly evidenced by the 255 instruments transferring property as slightly more than a tenth of the locations could not be clearly identified on the basis of existing research.

As a complete listing of all property transferred would not only exceed the scope of the present thesis but, due to the limited number of contracts per parish, would also be only of limited help. Consequently, only a sample of four parishes has been chosen to be discussed in more detail; of the 255 instruments transferring real estate property in Zadar proper, the turnover for the three decades as a whole amounted to the sum of 12,670.9 ducats.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁵ For the sellers, the numbers are 75.3 % (for the city proper), 1.9 % for the suburbs, and 3.5 % for individuals from villages situated within the medieval ager publicus, totalling 80.7 % of the total. These percentages are even higher for the buying parties, numbering 70.6 % (for the city proper), 7.8 % for the suburban dwellings, and 5.1 % for the Astarea, totalling 83.5 %. It is interesting to note that while the relative share of city dwellers decreased slightly, the shortfall was more than made up by the higher number of individuals from outside the city walls buying property within the fortifications. See also the appendix for detailed maps, statistics, and tables.

¹⁹⁶ Over the course of 1570s, new fortifications, an enlarged bastion adjacent to the Porta Terraferma (present-day Queen Jelena Madijevska Park), cisterns, quarters, etc. Mocellin, "Città fortificata," 29–40.

¹⁹⁷ Of course, some liberties had to be taken with these four parishes alone, as will be shown in the table below. A couple of locations were considered together as they were within the range of a nearby parish or lay across the street from each other. The former was the case with the blacksmith's parish which was located next to the parish of St John (Sv Ivan kovački), the latter was the case with the parishes of St Chrysogonus (Sv Krševan) and Sts Thomas and Silvester (Sv Toma/Silvestar). See also the appendix for detailed maps, statistics, and tables.

Table 14.1: Exemplary Turnover, Property Market in Zadar proper (1540 to 1569)

	St 40 ^a	turnover ¹	fabrorum ^b	turnover ¹	St Grisog. ^c	turnover ¹	St Viti ^d	turnover ¹
1540s	4	169.9	15	310.5	3	108.9	7	331.5
1550s	4	118.1	11	783	9	357.3	6	614
1560s	5	409.4	14	367.3	12	884.3	3	207
total no./duc.	13	697.4	40	1,460.8	24	1,350.5	16	1,152.5
% of total	5.1 %	5.5 %	15.7 %	11.5 %	9.4 %	10.7 %	6.3 %	9.1 %

Sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JM (1545–1569), JMM (1540–1554), NC (1558–1567), ND (1540–1566), PB (1540–1569), PS (1545–1551), SB (1556–1565), SM (1555–1567). In all, 255 individual contracts were analysed.

Table 14.1 shows the development of average prices from 1 January, 1540, to 31 December, 1569, in four of Zadar's parishes. The upper line in the fourth line ('total no./duc.') gives the three-decade totals for the individual contracts in the locations columns as well as the three-decade totals for the amount of ducats in 'turnover' columns. For practical purposes, no differences were made between the various different possessions with differing value.

The lower line in the fourth line ('% of total') gives the average three-decade percentages in order to demonstrate the varying relation between the number of individual contracts and the respective sales value of the property they transferred.

- (a) Denotes the number of real estate transactions which transferred possession of a house, small house, and/or (vacant) building lot to another individual, explicitly noting that the property was located in the parish of the 40 Martyrs (Sv četrdeset mučenika or Sancti Quadringentorum).
- (b) Denotes the number of real estate transactions which transferred possession of a house, small house, and/or (vacant) building lot to another individual, explicitly noting that the property was located in the parish of St John (Sv Ivan kovački or Sancti Joannis fabrorum), local toponyms explicitly referring to this parish, and the blacksmith's furnaces (stomorica or pusterla).
- (c) Denotes the number of real estate transactions which transferred possession of a house, small house, and/or (vacant) building lot to another individual, explicitly noting that the property was located in the parishes of St Chrysogonus (Sv Krševan or Sancti Grisogoni), near its garden, the Benedictine monastery, and/or the parishes of St Thomas/Silvester (Sv Tome/Silvestar or Sancti Thomae sive Silvestri).
- (d) Denotes the number of real estate transactions which transferred possession of a house, small house, and/or (vacant) building lot to another individual, explicitly noting that the property was located in the parish of St Vitus (Sv Vid or Sancti Viti).
- (1) Lists the amounts of transferred ducats for each of the three decades under survey as well as both the total amounts and their relative share of the over-all sales value.

Some differences between these four parishes existed, especially as regards the relations between their appearance in the sources and their respective percentage of the sales volume. On a related note, it is necessary to stress the fact that the general trends exhibited in the other real estate transaction analyses – that is, a considerable increase in the total turnover in terms of individual contracts, property transferred, and the price paid for (in ducats) – holds also true for the housing market within the city's walls. What is even more interesting, though, are the locations in which the buildings (and vacant lots) bought and sold were located within the administrative, organisational, and socio-functional structural subdivisions. In this particular context, what most strikingly stands out is the fact that these were more or less equally distributed in Zadar's old town. Most parishes were mentioned between ten and twenty times as

the approximate location in which the transferred property existed¹⁹⁸, ranging from as high as the forty instances in the case of the above-referenced blacksmith's parish of St John (Sv Ivan kovački or Sancti Johannis fabrorum) to single-digit appearances even lower than those given in table 14.1. The parishes in the latter category were, for instance, the ones around the nobles-only nunnery of St Mary (Sv Marija benetiktinki or Sanctae Mariae monialium, appearing twice), St Donatus (Sv Trojstvo/Donat or Sancti Donati, also appearing twice), the parish of St Lawrence (Sv Lovro or Sancti Laurentii, only mentioned once), and local toponyms like "arsenatus"¹⁹⁹ or "posarischia."²⁰⁰

As far as the distribution of the houses of Zadar's nobles within the various parishes of Zadar proper is concerned, some interesting aspects arise. Based on the above-mentioned 529 individual contracts referring to the locations in which they were drawn up as "actum in domo" (stipulated in the house of), only fifteen out of the total of twenty-five churches and their respective parishes are mentioned.²⁰¹ The city's nobles preferred the identified parishes of St Anastasia (Sv Štosia), St Demetrius (Sv Dimitrije), St Chrysogonus (Sv Krševan), St

¹⁹⁸ Approximate appears to be the most fitting description, as these contracts usually stipulated that the conferred building or vacant lot was situated within described property lines. In most but not all instruments these follow the same rules – holding true for both property transactions outside as well as inside the city's fortifications –, that is, they named the largest nearby location and delimited the boundaries of the property by listing the neighbours. For instance, in spring of 1549, "dominus Hieronymus Venturinus, et dominus Antonius eius nepos pro una medietate, et dominus Joannes Baptista Bocarich pro alia cives Jadrae, unanimously sold a house in Zadar proper to "ser Jacobo de Nobilibus Parmensi ad praesens aromatario Jadrensis." The building, "unam domum de muro soleratam, et cuppis copertam Super solo proprio," was located "Ad Angulum Platee," confined "a Siroco Jura veneabilis capituli Jadrae, a borea Jura domini Francisci de Begna quondam domini Marci Antonij, a Traversa Jura ecclesiae Sancti Laurentij, et a quirina via publica (...)." The house was sold for the sum of 100 ducats which Jacobo promised to pay in its entirety over the subsequent six years. Cf. FT I, 1, f15r, stipulated on 23 March, 1549.

¹⁹⁹ Situated in the eastern corner of Zadar, this location was named after the city's old arsenal and must not be confused with the new arsenal, located in the city's northern corner in Trg tri bunara (Three Wells Square). The latter building was constructed in the 18th century, for further information about the city's arsenals see Michela Dal Borgo and Guglielmo Zanelli, *Zara: Una fortezza, un porto, un arsenale* (Rome: Viella, 2008), 38–47.

²⁰⁰ While the area named "posarischia" does not appear in either work about Zadar, the sources refer to it as "in confinio loci vocati posarischia seu Sancti Vigiliij," suggesting geographical neighbourhood or at least vicinity to the parish of St Vigilius. The only drawback is that neither Nada Klaić and Ivo Petricioli nor Tomislav Raukar et al. provide a more specific location, the church does not even appear on the maps provided in both studies. For the quoted source, cf. DC I, 1, 4, f14v, stipulated on 9 August, 1556, for the two maps referred to above, see Klaić and Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 285, and Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 135.

It may be possible, though, that the locality was situated close to St Michael's or within its parish – as an other instrument revealed. In it, property was transferred, situated "in confinio Sancti Michaelis in curia Sic vocata busarischia," rendering it possible to place both posarischia as well as St Vigilius into the vicinity of St Michael's. For the referenced quote here, cf. DC I, 2, 1, f22r/f22v, stipulated on 6 June, 1559.

²⁰¹ Although some liberties had to be taken to come up with the 'exact' number, these 25 churches or parishes are based on Tomislav Raukar et al. and their contribution in the third volume of the *Prošlost Zadra*. Of course, the assessment above should, by no means, mark the end of research into the public and private spaces of Zadar. On the contrary, it is intended to serve as another starting point for future research. For the map, see Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 135.

Thomas and St Silvester (Sv Tome/Silvestar)²⁰², the Forty Martyrs (Sv četrdeset mučenika), St Vitus (Sv Vid), St Catherine (Sv Katarina), St Salvator (Sv Spasitelj), St Lawrence (Sv Lovro), St Mary of the priests (Sv Marija Velika)²⁰³, St Stephen or St Simeon or St Rochus (Sv Stjepan/Šimun/Rok)²⁰⁴, St Dominic (Sv Dominik), St Michael (Sv Mihovil), and St John or blacksmith's parish (Sv Ivan kovački). In addition to these, a couple of local toponyms were found, too: arsenatus (in the city's eastern corner) and the neighbouring locations named hospitum and porta macella or beccaria (klaonice vrata, situated in the vicinity of St Mary of the priests), and the communal square.²⁰⁵

The other parishes, St Nicolai (Sv Nikola), St Francis (Sv Frane), St George (Sv Juraj), St Elijah (Sv Ilija), St Donatus (Sv Donat ili Trojstvo), the nobles-only nunnery of St Mary (Sv Marija benediktinki), St Bernard (Sv Bernardin), St Peter (Sv Petar stari), St Nicolai (Sv Nikola)²⁰⁶, St Cosmas and Damian (Sv Kuzma i Damjan), and the church of St Mary 'de bon gaudio' (Sv Marija 'boni gaudii') have not been associated with nobles residing within their vicinity. Around the mid-sixteenth century, the southern and western parts of the city were not the preferred areas of residence of Zadar's nobles. Interestingly, this held also true for the par-

²⁰² After the 14th century, the parish church of St Thomas also 'took over' St Silvester as the church dedicated to the latter, originally situated in the southern corner of Zadar, was abandoned or destroyed over the course of the 15th and early 16th centuries. Klaić and Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 285, and Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 135.

²⁰³ The parish around the church named appears as "confinio (...) Sancte Marie presbyterorum Jadre", situated in the arsenalus or Arsenal area of Zadar in the eastern corner of the city (it takes its name from the location of the old arsenal, the new one – still standing today – is located in the northern corner of Zadar). Consequently, today it is known as Sv Marija velika (svećenička). For the quoted reference, cf. FT I, 2, f24r, stipulated on 28 March, 1552.

²⁰⁴ For information about the Shrine of St Simeon, see Janez Höfler, *Die Kunst Dalmatiens: Vom Mittelalter bis zur Renaissance (800–1520)* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1989), 174–5, which provides ample information on Dalmatia's rich art history.

The reason for listing St Stephen is that the church presently known as Shrine of St Simeon (Škrinja Sv. Šimuna) was initially dedicated to the former Saint, evidenced by the two maps provided in Klaić and Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 285, and Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 135.

And the reason for merging these three parishes into one are that the churches of St Stephen and St Simeon are apparently the same and the sources refer to the parishes of St Stephen and St Rochus as equals: "(...) ecclesie divi Simeonis seu Roci." Cf. CC I, 1, 3, f9v/f10r, stipulated on 27 April, 1569.

²⁰⁵ Mentioned in at least two studies pertaining to Zadar's post-1409 development, area around the butcher's gate or, as it was named by Tomislav Raukar et al., the "vrata klaonice" is referred to in the sources as "confinio Macelli," "In contrata porte Civitatis vocate della becharia," and "prope portam Civitatis vocatam la porta della becharia In contrata hospitum." As the naming of these local toponyms suggests, these locations could reasonably well be considered together. For first quote, see Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 135, for the quoted references from the sources, cf. (in the order of their listing) SM I, 1, 9, stipulated on 27 August, 1561, ND I, 1, E, stipulated on 11 October, 1542, and ND I, 1, E, stipulated on 17 June, 1542.

²⁰⁶ In Nada Klaić and Ivo Petricioli's study about Zadar in the Middle Ages, only one church dedicated to St Nicholas, situated in the city's western corner in the vicinity of the Franciscan convent appears. However, in the subsequent work by Tomislav Raukar et al., two churches dedicated to the same Saint appear, the second one located across the street from St Stephen's or St Simeon's. It is for this reason that the text above mentions churches dedicated to St Nicholas twice. See Klaić and Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 285, and Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 135

ishes of St Donatus, located next to the cathedral and not too far away from the church of the Forty Martyrs, and St Peter as well as the churches of St Cosmas and Damian (not mentioned once), and St Mary ‘de bon gaudio’ (located approximately next to the captain’s palace).²⁰⁷

Again, these final remarks do not constitute the last words on this issue but should provide at least some starting points for future research. Especially given the notion of the seemingly inherent semi-private-ness/public-ness of the nobility’s houses and their importance and roles within the functioning of an early modern mediterranean urban society. In this context, the L-shaped areas of Zadar’s city centre, extending roughly from the city’s northern (castle) to the eastern (communal square) to the southern (citadel) corners, covered about two thirds to three quarters of the urban surface area. And the fact that a number of parishes, interestingly mostly clustered in the south-western and western parts of Zadar, were avoided, provides considerable potential for future studies (re-) assessing the social distribution of housing within the city’s fortified core, a task beyond the scope of the present thesis.

²⁰⁷ Both churches (and their presumably associated parishes) appear in the map provided by Tomislav Raukar et al., however, while the latter appears a couple of times throughout the instruments, the former is completely absent. For the map, see Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 135.

Synopsis

In the final part of the present thesis, two main aspects of Zadar's urban elites take to the centre of the stage. In a first segment, the native nobility is the focus of the study, followed by a second segment aiming to address the most important issues as regards other functional and/or social groups of considerable importance. In both instances, the already well-proven approach of combining the reports of the officials with the notarial records is applied to shed further light on issues as diverse as the nobility's marriage behaviour and material culture as well as the presence of Croats and Jews. In a final step, initial analysis of places and spheres both private and public within the urban framework is surveyed in an attempt to offer a preliminary assessment of the city's more (and less) important spaces.

The first chapter focuses on the nobility, analysing various aspects of their perceived everyday life as seen from an imaginary street view. First, various aspects of mobility, encompassing both qualitative increases in societal posture and status within the aristocratic stratum as well as the geographical ties between the nobles from other parts of Dalmatia are detailed. Again, analysis of both official Venetian reports and the notarial instruments revealed that about a quarter of all individuals of noble descent present in mid-sixteenth century Zadar had more or less close ties to the nobility of other cities under Venetian control, extending from Kotor in the southeast to the regions in the Kvarner Gulf closer to Istria. Also, as the examples of Franciscus Paladinus of Hvar, Petrus Antonius de Ferra of Zadar, and others amply illustrate, not only did the allocated dowries often exceed the annual income given by Venice's governors, a certain tendency of 'marrying upwards' existed. It must be stressed, though, that by that not social mobility is inferred but incremental increases in social status enabled by personal achievements which, in turn, rendered it possible to enter into marriage alliances with noble families of higher societal prestige and wealth. The latter category is exemplified by Bernardinus Carnarutus (Brne Karnarutić), renown for his military services in Hungary's attempts stemming the Ottoman tide or the the notaries public Johannes Mazzarellus and his son Simon. Apart from these issues, the nobility's marriage alliances in Zadar proper, its ties to the hinterland and, lastly, aspects of their material culture are surveyed, too. It must be stressed, though, that, absent comparative studies, the latter aspects could only provide a cursory overview, hopefully leading to continued future efforts.

In the second and last chapter of part four, Jadertine functional groups and the urban landscape serve to complete the survey of Zadar's urban elites around the mid-sixteenth century. The approach thereto is multi-pronged: In an initial step, the then-present Venetians, including both members of the public administration as well as the likes of Franciscus Dandulo and the Jadertine branch of the Venier family are surveyed. In most cases, the more practical aspects of their involvement in local activities stand out. While (former) members of the Venetian administration were often entrusted with procuratorial activities, the members of the Venier family were very much involved in the defence system, as their command of one of the hinterland's fortified places suggest. The next important segment of Zadar's society were the elite commoners, consisting of a number of members of the intellectual elite, including notaries public, jurists (like Franciscus Petrouich or Pasinus de Pasinis), interpreters (like Simon Britanicus), and other members of Venice's administration. A third group of important individuals were Croats and Jews. While the ties between the Bosnian-Croatian-Dalmatian hinterlands and the coastal cities were not too numerous, they – and corresponding legal and social acceptance – did exist, as witnessed by the acceptance of Helena Mogorichia, a noblewoman from Croatia, and nun in Zadar's nobles-only nunnery of St Catherine OSC as well as a couple of other instruments stipulated as far away as Zagreb but accepted without hesitation. Also, the seemingly ubiquitous Jewish presence throughout the entirety of Venice's maritime possessions²⁰⁸ was addressed by identifying the (very small) number of the then-present Jews and the subsequent analysis of their ties, ranging from the Iberian to the Apennine peninsula and Venice's Dalmatian dominions to Alexandria in Egypt.

The concluding segment addressed the issues arising from contemplating the division, distribution, and uses of Zadar's public space(s). Within the communal areas some places clearly stood out serving the commons like the communal square with the loggia and the jurist's bench. But given the fact that a majority of the instruments surveyed was drawn up in semi-public places like private houses, business/storage facilities, and the chancellories makes room for future studies further investigating the allocation of urban spaces. A re-assessment thereof appears necessary as, for instance, revealed by the dual functions of the nobility's private houses, especially if combined with their preferred residential parishes, highlighting potential for future research.

²⁰⁸ Arbel, "Colonie d'oltremare," 974.

Conclusion

The three decades between the two wars of ‘Holy Leagues’ versus the Ottoman Empire, circumscribed by the sea battles of Preveza (1538) and Lepanto (1571), were of considerable importance in many aspects. Two self-styled universal monarchies – Spain and the Ottoman Empire – warily watched each other whilst their empires reached their apogees. The events surrounding the ascent of both realms are clearly understood and described by a multitude of studies. The results of the present thesis, exploring the activities, interactions, and livelihoods of the elites of a city on the frontiers of Christendom¹, shed more light on an area and epoch already well researched by both Italian and (Yugo-) Slavic scholars. While the decades under survey in the present study have been chosen primarily because of the perceived absence of “events worthy the attention of posterity”², analysis of the notarial records clearly shows the opposite. The years between 1538 and 1571 witnessed considerable changes beneath the surface of Zadar’s society which may be categorised along the following three aspects:

First, by subjecting the little-used procuratorial appointments to detailed analysis it is possible to reconstruct the directions, flows, and intensity of communication in the early modern Adriatic.

Second, virtually all scholars described Dalmatia’s economic history after 1409 as centuries of stagnation and decline. However, as the property transactions in Zadar’s jurisdiction – encompassing both the territories on the mainland as well as the islands – clearly demonstrate, this assertion may need some adjustments.

Third, most studies in both Italian and (Yugo-) Slavic languages investigating the daily life and interactions of Dalmatia’s urban elite focus almost exclusively on the aristocratic strata of society. Notwithstanding the recurrent appearance of non-noble worthies in the reports of

¹ Paraphrased after the title of Muldoon and Fernández-Armesto, *Medieval Frontiers of Latin Christendom*.

² Norwich, *History of Venice*, 460–1.

Venice's captains, governors, and legates, also the elite commoners³, indispensable for the functioning of society, are included in the present study.

The combination of these three aspects enables the reconstruction of Zadar and its subject jurisdiction around the mid–sixteenth century. Weakened Christian seapower and the corresponding Ottoman naval dominance were felt on both land and sea but especially at the often–overlooked Adriatic periphery of Venice's maritime state.

The consequences of these developments for an urban commune situated right in–between may be observed as follows:

First marauding Ottoman parties reached the environs of Zadar in the early 1430s, resulting in incessant and increasing pressure for the subsequent 150 years. The consequences of these developments resulted not only in changing borders but had also serious implications for the life and livelihoods of the inhabitants of Jadertine jurisdiction. Two main factors contributed significantly to the deterioration of the over–all situation: From the Venetian point of view the defence of its overseas possessions became increasingly expensive as fortifications were enlarged and more troops deployed. On the local level, discontinued agriculture, marauding troops from beyond the (official) borders, and Venetian economic policies significantly exacerbated the already existing problems and contributed to an increasing dependency on Venice.

As the Republic of St Mark increased her commitment to defending her overseas possessions, changes in the density, directions, and flows of communication were among the most visible consequences of these developments. This can be clearly observed in the relative decline of both northern and southern Dalmatia and the corresponding increase in the importance of Venice proper as the destination. These changes can be reconstructed by at least two different types of sources, namely *contralittere* and *procuratorial* appointments. While the former approach has been proven to work, its limitations are clearly visible: Analysis of these export/import licences enables us to reconstruct commodity flows and trade routes requiring large samples which, more often than not, have not been preserved. The latter sources, *procurae*, serve this purpose much better as they address genuine communication between different locations involving at least three individuals and/or institutions. The results of the present study clearly show that both communication density and direction towards Venice proper in-

³ Grubb, "Elite Citizens."

creased during the three decades between the naval encounters of Preveza and Lepanto. This development is mirrored by the corresponding decline of destinations situated along the rest of eastern coast of the Adriatic.

Changes in the economic realm are much harder to assess. The combination of Venetian policies towards the Dalmatian cities after 1409 and the Ottoman threat from beyond the borders resulted in economic stagnation followed by a marked decline relative to the preceding era of Hungarian suzerainty. Zadar's property markets clearly exhibited these long-term developments in the aftermath of the war from 1537 to 1541. Economic activities decreased further in the ensuing two decades, confirming the established pattern, however, the decade prior to the Cyprus War was very different. Contrary to long-established trends, the 1560s witnessed a reversal of these developments evidenced by the doubling of both transferred acreage as well as turnover. Without comparable sets of data for the decades preceding Preveza and ensuing Lepanto, it cannot be stated conclusively that these ten years were the exception proving the assertion of existing historiography that the late medieval and early modern centuries witnessed Dalmatia falling further and further behind the rest of Latin Europe. Significant border changes and the accompanying reduction of the extent of Jadertine jurisdiction in the aftermath of the Cyprus War altered the situation significantly, marking a decisive discontinuity in terms of available real estate property. In spite of the results of the present study it can be concluded that additional research into the decades prior to the battle of Preveza and after Lepanto is needed to conclusively assess the long-term implications of these exterior factors on everyday life in central Dalmatia.

The increasing Venetian commitment to defending the *Stato da mar* had another, less visible consequence. As the Republic of St Mark poured more and more matériel, men, and money into her overseas possessions, the relation between them and the original population was altered. Historiography has reconstructed a number of areas within Venice's overseas possessions in the Eastern Mediterranean – both the Adriatic and the Aegean, Crete, and Cyprus – that displayed an increased interconnectedness within the wider framework of the *Stato da mar*. Only recently, though, comparable methodological approaches used to study the society of Venice proper were also applied to her maritime state. While the documentation of Venetian patricians still commands considerable importance, the past two decades witnessed a rise in the study of their interactions with and integration into the host societies all over the Eastern Mediterranean. The present study contributes also to the social history of the Adriatic

in the context of the Venetian maritime state by investigating not only Zadar's aristocratic population. By widening the focus and including also nobles from the hinterlands of the western Balkans and elite commoners, a more inclusive image of urban societies in early modern Dalmatia emerges. Analysis of the protocol books of Zadar's notaries reveals new insights into the marriage behaviour, material culture, and the relation of Jadertine nobles with ecclesiastical institutions. These findings shed new light on issues which, with the notable exception of the Ragusan Republic, did not attract much scholarly attention so far.

The findings of the present study allow for two more statements pertaining to the early modern history of Venice's maritime state in general and to her Adriatic possessions in particular. As for the former, the increase in communication directed towards the capital city may be attributed to a combination of the following factors: As states consolidate and expand their administrative organisation they tend to increase institutional complexity thus creating new incentives for additional documentation. This development is clearly visible in the policies of the Republic of St Mark towards her overseas possessions, exemplified by the city of Zadar. In the early 1560s, the communal statutory laws, the *Statuta Iadertina*, were codified and augmented by 160 additional chapters, the so-called Reformationes. To put that into perspective – this is equivalent to roughly one amendment for every year of Venetian dominion over Zadar since 1409 until the Cyprus War. Another good example was the intensifying efforts to defend the *Stato da mar*. More men and matériel, artisans, and support personnel thus requiring more administrative efforts by Venetian officials and their respective local subjects of both noble and non-noble descent – the urban elites.

The combination of top-down views – the *relazioni* of Venice's overseas officials – with sources from the Državni arhiv u Zadru (DAZd, Croatian State Archive in Zadar) provides both “moving images” as well as the appropriate “soundtrack”.⁴ The rather technical term “urban elites” has been chosen to signal that, despite obvious differences in scale⁵ and institutional complexity, Venice's Adriatic dominions strongly resembled the lagoon metropolis. Consequently, any attempt to deny the empirical evidence of a high degree of geographical and social mobility which entailed a heterogenous societal composition must fail. In spite of

⁴ McKee, “Women under Venetian Colonial Rule,” 35.

⁵ Around the mid-16th century Zadar was home to circa 6,500 inhabitants, while the Venetian population is estimated to have amounted to circa 170,000 inhabitants in the early 1560s. For the former numbers, see Mocellin, “Città fortificata,” 43–4, 60–1, and Malz, “Frühneuzeitliche Modernisierung,” 106, for the data on Venice, see Pierre Sardella, *Nouvelles et spéculations à Venise au début du XVIe siècle* (Paris: Colin, 1948), 10.

the efforts of the last two decades, historiography of the Adriatic during the early modern centuries remains, unfortunately, more often than not separated by barriers of present-day borders and language.

The rich but (so far) little used records preserved in the Croatian State Archive in Zadar provide a multitude of opportunities for future studies on, for example, the effects of the re-demarcation of the borders in the aftermath of the Cyprus War on real estate prices on the mainland. Also of interest are the material culture, styles, and symbology of Dalmatia's urban elites which, in spite of the absence of many pictorial sources for the early modern period, can be reconstructed by focusing on inventories, notarial documents like marriage contracts of dowry quitclaims, and testaments. In more general terms, more comparative studies focusing on, for instance, the island communities under Venetian rule in the Kvarner Gulf to the north of Zadar (Cres/Cherso, Pag/Pago, or Rab/Arbe) – and off southern Dalmatia, namely Brač (La Brazza), Hvar (Lesina), and Korčula (Curzola) are needed. Other than these, also the changes in the hinterlands of Split (Spalato), Šibenik (Sebenico), and Trogir (Traù) in the aftermath of the Cyprus War deserve more scholarly attention.

Not many studies exist focusing on events in Dalmatia between the two wars pitting 'Holy Leagues' and the Ottoman Empire against each other. By combining the top-down views – the *relazioni* and the *Zadarski statut* – with the information provided by Zadar's notaries, it has been demonstrated that considerable changes occurred during the two wars of 'Holy Leagues' against the Ottoman Empire. A multitude of events, more often than not beneath society's surface, happened in Zadar proper as well as in the territory under its jurisdiction. Firmly based on empirical research, comparative approaches, and scientific interpretation, the results of the present study allow for a better understanding of the composition, interactions, and ranges of activities of urban elites in early modern Dalmatia. For too long, the past of the Adriatic, inextricably linked, not isolated by the sea, has been a subject of closely delimited interpretations intended to serve nationalistic and/or territorial claims. The present study has the purpose to further our understanding of Dalmatia's past with all its rich and shared Italian and (Yugo-) Slavic heritage and, hopefully, contributes to one day overcome centuries of separate historiographies.

Appendix

Glossary

affictus	lease or rental contract
affictuarius	leaseholder or tenant
bolletta, contralettere	clearance certificate or customs receipt, issued by the Venetian port authorities confirming the cargo, required for goods export/import
breviarium	accounts current or statement
capitoli	chapters, subsections in legal texts, as in the <i>Statuta Iadertina</i>
chyrographum	promissory note, obligation or debt security
colonus	holder of a concession or land grant
concessio	concession or land grant
conductio	contract of lease, lease or tenancy contract
conductor	leaseholder or tenant
contrados	counter–dowry or donatio propter nuptias
dos	dowry
emphytheosis	lease of property on the condition of taking care of it during the tenure
emptio	contract of purchase/sale
fideiussio	co–signing, guarantee of payment of a loan, personal security
honorantia	special gift
incantum, incanto	process by which public property was auctioned off to the highest bidder
indictio	indiction, 15–year cycle used in dating medieval documents
instrumentum pacis	extrajudicial settlement of a legal feud
invocatio	formal beginning of a legal document
licentia comitis	ducal licence
livellatio	document certifying a lawful contract, bill of exchange
locator	landlord
muda	Venetian long–distance state–run commercial convoy
primicerius	first or senior of the lower clergy
procura	legally binding authorisation or mandate of representation

procurator	legal agent or representative, proxy
quietatio	quitclaim
refutatio bonorum	remit of the entitlement to an inheritance, at times in combination with the father's promise to provide a dowry to his daughter
relazioni	report by Venice's ambassadors, governors, etc. written to be presented in front of the councils of government
Sandjak/Sandžak	first-level subdivisions in the Ottoman Empire
stradioti/stradiotti	mercenary soldiers, light cavalry, mostly recruited in the Balkans
valedictio	formal conclusion of a legal document

Units of Measurement¹

Measurement of land

1 gognaj (gonjaj)	circa 2,370 m ² (exact: 2,369.547684 m ²)
1 sors (ždrijeb)	circa 30 to 32 gonjaj = circa 7.1 to 7.6 hectares (exact: 7.11 to 7.584 hectares)

Measurement of length

1 pes/passus (stopa)	circa 0.33 m (exact: 0.34773 m)
4 passi (stope)	circa 1.4 m (exact: 1.39092 m)

Measurement of volume (grain)

1 Venetian modium (mletački modij)	circa 333 litres (exact: 333.26 litres), equal to 4 star or 16 quart
1 star	circa 83.25 litres (exact: 83.315 litres)
1 quarta (kvart or četvrtalj)	circa 20.83 litres (exact: 20.82875 litres)
1 Jadertine modium (zadarski modij)	circa 104.2 litres (exact: 104.1629 litres)
1 Jadertine quarta (zadarski kvarta)	circa 26 litres (exact: 26.040624 litres)

Measurement of volume (wine)

1 modium (modij)	circa 80 litres (presumably)
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¹ All units of measurement relevant to the present study are compiled from Raukar, *Zadar u XV. stoljeću*, 298, and Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 759–60.

The names of the above-mentioned units are given in Latin and their South-Slavic expressions in brackets. For further information, see Marija Znaninović-Rumora, “Zadarske mjere za zapremninu kroz stoljeća [Jadertine measurements of capacity through the centuries],” *Rad. HAZU-Zd.* 36 (1995): 87–95, Marija Znaninović-Rumora, “Stare mjere za površinu u sjevernoj Dalmaciji [Old measurements of length in northern Dalmatia],” *Rad. HAZU-Zd.* 35 (1993): 121–35, and Marija Znaninović-Rumora, “Zadarske i šibenske mjere za dužinu kroz stoljeća [Measurements of lengths in Zadar and Šibenik through the centuries],” *Rad. HAZU-Zd.* 34 (1992): 109–22.

Monetary Denominations

The present thesis names a number of different moneys of account, the by far most common being the Venetian coins ducat/ducato (dukat), libra/lira (libra), and soldi/solidi (solada). All three denominations were interrelated via fixed exchange rates between them. For instance, one single Venetian ducat was convertible into six libras and four soldi. The denarius/denaro (denar) was not mentioned in the sources, but it is mentioned here because it has been the money of account since the thirteenth century.²

1 ducat (dukat)	6 libras (libra/lire) 4 soldi (solada/soldi)
1 libra	20 soldi, equal to 240 denarii (denar/denaro)

All other monetary units appearing in the sources can subsequently be converted into libras, soldi, and denarii. The other denominations are the Mocenigo, Scudo/Scuto, Ungarus/Ungaro, and the Zecchino.

1 mocenigo	24 soldi
1 scudo or scuto	6 libras 17 soldi
1 ungarus or ungaro	7 libras 14 soldi
1 zecchino	8 libras 8 soldi

Given the usage and geographical distribution of the Venetian ducat, all prices in the present study will be denominated in ducats according to the above-mentioned exchange rates and to make comparisons with other regions easier.³

Measurement of weight (money)

1 libra grossa (teška libra)	circa 476.999 grams
1 libra subtilis (mala libra)	circa 301.229 grams

² First struck in the late 13th century, the denarius (groš denar) and denarius parvus (mali denar) were the denominations of account throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Its weight – i.e. worth – with respect to the ducat varied over the course of the centuries:

Mid-14th century: 1 ducat = 3 libras 12 soldi;

Late 14th century: 1 ducat = 4 libras 10 soldi;

Mid-15th century, 1 ducat = 6 libras;

From the late 15th century onwards until the end of the Republic of Venice (1797), 1 ducat = 6 libras 4 soldi.

The denominations given above are based upon Raukar, *Zadar u XV. stoljeću*, 298–9, and Kolanović and Križman, *Zadarski statut*, 759–60.

³ For further information about the Venetian monetary system apart from the literature given above, see also Ugo Tucci, “Convertibilità e copertura metallica della moneta del Banco Giro veneziano,” in *Studi Veneziani* 15 (1973): 349–448, and Milan Vlainac, *Rečnik naših starih mera u toku vekova* [Dictionary of our old units of weight and measure] (Belgrade: Naučno delo, 1961).

Tables

General Overview

Table i: General Overview (1540 to 1569)

	years active ¹	total no./acts ²	procurae ³	emptiones ⁴	concessioness ⁵	locationes ⁶
AM	1540–1551	90	13	26	3	4
CC	1567–1569	220	53	20	13	10
DC	1551–1566	1367	160	269	93	41
FT	1548–1561	258	33	55	8	2
GC	1562–1564	52	9	3	9	2
HM	1567–1569	259	44	24	17	12
JM	1545–1569	814	74	98	95	30
JMM	1540–1554	285	22	34	7	7
MAS	1544–1548	15	1	1	1	–
NC	1558–1567	118	29	28	7	5
ND	1540–1566	825	199	138	57	20
PB	1545–1551	43	2	6	6	1
PS	1540–1569	821	68	197	64	15
SB	1556–1565	827	156	119	60	57
SM	1555–1567	442	67	49	38	20
		6,436	930	1,067	478	226

Table i gives a general overview over the notarial acts upon which the present study is based; in this table only those notarial acts stipulated between 1 January, 1540, and 31 December, 1569, were taken into account. In all, 6,436 individual notarial acts were surveyed, the combined number of acts analysed (procuratorial instruments plus the three above-referenced real estate property transactions) amounts to 3,019 notarial acts or 46.9 %.

(1) Years in which the respective notary was active and stipulated notarial acts in Zadar/Zara (Jadra).

(2) Total number of individual notarial acts stipulated by the respective notary.

(3) Lists the number of individual procuratorial appointments stipulated by the respective notary.

(4) Lists the number of individual contracts of sale transferring real estate property stipulated by the respective notary.

(5) Lists the number of individual contracts conceding real estate property stipulated by the respective notary.

(6) Lists the number of individual contracts renting real estate property stipulated by the respective notary.

In all subsequent tables, toponyms are given in their current Slavic/Italian versions – if existing – and their equivalents as spelled in the sources in brackets, e.g. Zadar/Zara (Jadra). Place names in *Italics* and/or in brackets indicate that these toponyms were found in the sources but they remain unidentified, too unspecified to be identified properly, and/or to be located on a map (or a combination thereof).

Procuratorial analysis

In general, the subsequent tables relative to the procuratorial analysis are based upon the following sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JM (1545–1569), JMM (1540–1554), MAS (1544–1548), NC (1558–1567), ND (1540–1566), PB (1540–1569), PS (1545–1551), SB (1556–1565), SM (1555–1567). In all, 930 individual contracts were analysed.

Table ii: Overview (1540 to 1569)

	no. of acts ¹	% of total ²	Latin ³	'Italian' ⁴	mixed ⁵	♀ constituents ⁶	♀ procurators ⁷
1540s	225	24.2 %	225	–	–	51	5
1550s	330	35.5 %	329	1	–	83	6
1560s	375	40.3 %	347	27	1	102	9
	930	100 %	901	28	1	236	20
			96.9 % ^a	3 % ^a	0.1 % ^a	25.4 % ^b	2.2 % ^b

(a) Percentages are the three-decade averages; (b) percentages are the three-decade average of the total.

(1) total number of notarial instruments.

(2) share of each decade of total.

(3) number of instruments in Latin.

(4) number of instruments in the Venetian variant of Italian.

(5) number of instruments in both languages.

(6) number of female constituent parties (counted were only those instances in which women alone stipulated).

(7) number of female procuratorial appointees (like as above).

Table ii.i: Socio-functional Provenance, Constituents (1540 to 1569)

	nobilitas ¹	clerus ²	artifices	miles ³	mercatores ⁴	intelligentsia ⁵	rest, n/a ⁶
1540s	63	22	19	22	7	15	77
1550s	122	53	14	47	15	22	57
1560s	129	49	20	76	11	31	59
	314	124	53	145	33	68	193
% ^a	33.8 %	13.3 %	5.7 %	15.6 %	3.5 %	7.4 %	20.7 %
	♀ of these	nob. of these	♀ of these	nob. of these		nob. of these	
1540s	14	16	6	2		7	
1550s	30	7	4	10		10	
1560s	39	7	11	19		11	
	83	30	21	31		28	
% ^b	8.9 %	3.2 %	2.3 %	2.2 %		3 %	

(a) Percentages are the three-decade averages; (b) percentages are the three-decade average of the total.

(1) includes nobles from Hvar/Lesina (Pharo, Lesina), Kotor/Cattaro (Catharo), Krk/Veglia (Vegla), Pag/Pago (Pago), Rab/Arbe (Arbe), Šibenik/Sebenico (Sibenico), Split/Spalato (Spalato), Trogir/Trau (Tragurij), Venice, and Zadar/Zara (Jadra).

(2) both institutions (e.g. convents, parish churches) and individuals were counted, the latter included the following job titles: canonicus (canon), clericus (cleric), diaconus (deacon), episcopus (bishop, including archbishop), parochianus (parish priest), pater (father), sor/frater (sister/friar), and vicarius (vicar).

(3) includes: capitaneus (captain), comes (count), galeotus (oarsman), miles (soldier), sopracomes (galley commander), stratiotus (mercenary soldier).

(4) includes: aromatarius (spice trader), bazariotus (small retailer), and mercator (merchant).

(5) includes: artium et medicinae doctor (medical doctor), cancellarius (chancellor), causidicus (attorney), gabelotus (tax collector), leges utriusque doctor (doctor of both laws), notarius (notary public), scriba (scribe), and solicitator (solicitor).

(6) includes all other constituent parties belonging to neither of the afore-mentioned groups.

Table ii.ii: Geographical Provenance, Constituents (1540 to 1569)

	Zadar ¹	Astarea ²	Contado ³	Novigrad ⁴	Nin ⁵	Islands ⁶	Dalmatia ⁷	rest, n/a ⁸
1540s	135	5	6	4	14	13	13	19
1550s	229	1	11	1	13	2	22	24
1560s	268	2	14	10	11	5	18	31
	632	8	31	15	38	20	53	74
% ^a	68 %	0.9 %	3.3 %	1.6 %	4.1 %	2.1 %	5.7 %	8 %

	Albania ⁹	Venice ¹⁰	Istria ¹¹	Ionian ¹²	Italy ¹³	Austria ¹⁴	Croatia ¹⁵
1540s	3	4	2	–	5	1	1
1550s	2	15	3	2	4	1	–
1560s	–	9	–	1	4	–	2
	5	28	5	3	13	2	3
% ^a	0.5 %	3 %	0.5 %	0.3 %	1.4 %	0.2 %	0.3 %

(a) Percentages are the three-decade averages.

(1) Zadar/Zara (Jadra) proper, excluding the suburban settlements.

(2) Astareja/Astarea (districtus), territory of the medieval district, including the suburban settlements, the following toponyms appear in the sources: Bibinje/Bibigne (Bibigne), Diklo/Diclo (Diclo), Gladuša/Gladussa (Gladussa), and the Lazareto/Lazzaretto (lazarettum).

(3) Contado denotes the territory subject to Zadar/Zara (Jadra) on the mainland, including one village within the minor district of Vrana/Aurana (Vrana)*, the following toponyms appear in the sources: Brda/Berdo (Berda), (*Chuchagl*), Dračevac/Malpaga (Draževac), Jelsa/Gelsa (Jelsa), Kamenjani (Chamegnani), Miljačka/Migliazza (Miglicza), Mokro/Mocro (Mocro), Nadin/Nadino (Nadino), Opačić (Opatizasele), Podi/Podi (Podi), Poškaljine (Poscaglina), (*Priticeuci*), Ražanac/Rasance (Rasance), Rogovo/Rogovo (Rogovo), Smoković/Smòcovich (Smochovich), Sukošan/Porto d'Oro, San Cassiano (Sancti Cassiani), Sv Filip i Jakov/Santi Filippo e Giacomo (Sancti Filippi et Jacobi), Tinj/Tino (Tinj)*, Tršci (Tersci), Turanj/Torretta, Turreta (Turreta), and Varikašane/Varicassane (Varichassane).

(4) territory subject to Zadar's jurisdiction but organised in the district of Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado), including the minor district of Posedarje/Possedaria (Posedaria)†, the following toponyms appear in the sources: Rupalj, Koruplje (Corpuaglie), Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado), Posedarje/Possedaria (Posedaria)†, and Režane/Reggiane (Regiane).

(5) territory subject to Zadar's jurisdiction but organised in the district of Nin/Nona (Nona) but including the minor district of Ljubač/Gliuba (Gliube)°, the following toponyms appear in the sources: Čakavci (Chiacavci), Čerinci (Cerinci), Ljubač/Gliuba (Gliube)°, Nin/Nona (Nona), Podvršje, Vrši/Verchè (Podverie), Privlaka/Brevilacqua (Bevilaqua), and Zaton/Zaton (Zaton).

(6) islands subject to Zadar's jurisdiction, the following toponyms appear in the sources: Dugi Otok/Isola Grossa, Lunga, Iž/Eso (Eso, Exo), Molat/Melada (Melada), Pašman/Pasmano (Pasmano), Silba/Selve (Selba), and Ugljan/Ugliano (Ugliano).

(7) includes the following places in Venetian Dalmatia: Brač/La Brazza (Brachia, Brazza), Cres/Cherso (Cherso), Hvar/Lesina (Pharo, Lesina), Korčula/Curzola (Chorzula, Corcira), Krk/Veglia (Vegla), Omiš/Almissa (Almissa), Osor/Ossero (Aussero), Pag/Pago (Pago), Rab/Arbe (Arbe), Selce (Selza), Split/Spalato (Spalato), Šibenik/Sebenico (Sibinico), Trogir/Trau (Tragurij), Novi Vinodolski/Novi (Vinodol), and Vis/Lissa (Lissa).

(8) includes unidentified, unnamed, and the following toponyms: (*Amsana*), Bačka (Bascha), (*Boiste*), (*Cratona*), (*Dumonichie Sello*), (*Dvornicheselo*), (*Grigno*), (*Marhermanco*), (*Prestoranci*), and (*Villerato*).

(9) includes the following places in Venetian Albania: Kotor/Cattaro (Catharo) and Perast/Perasto (Perasto).

(10) includes both Venice proper as well as the following places on the Terraferma: Bergamo, Chioggia, Cividale del Friuli, Murano, San Grande (Friuli), Trecenta, and Udine.

(11) includes the following places in Istria: Buzet/Pinguente (Bussetto, Pinguenti), Labin/Albona (Albona), and (*Serbar*).

(12) includes the following Venetian-controlled places in the Ionian Sea: Corfu, Nafpaktos/Lepanto (Nauplia), and Zakynthos/Jacinto (Hiacynthi/Zante).

(13) includes the following places in Italy excluding the Venetian Terraferma: Alta Badia (alla Badia), Ancona, Castel Sant'Angelo, Genoa, (*Guasto*), Milan, Pisauro, Rivellino, and Rome.

(14) includes the following Austrian-controlled place in Istria: Rijeka/Fiume.

(15) includes the following places in the Croatian hinterlands: Bosiljevo and, more general, Croatia.

Table ii.iii: Socio-functional Provenance, Procuratorial Appointees (1540 to 1569)

	nobilitas	clerus	artifices	miles	mercatores	intelligentsia	rest, n/a
1540s	80	22	18	13	3	63	26
1550s	137	29	15	17	11	61	60
1560s	143	32	18	30	17	72	63
	360	83	51	60	31	196	149
% ^a	38.7 %	8.9 %	5.5 %	6.5 %	3.3 %	21.1 %	16 %

	♀ of these	nob. of these	nob. of these	nob. of these	nob. of these
1540s	—	8	6	—	21
1550s	5	2	5	1	27
1560s	3	2	10	1	33
	8	12	21	2	81
% ^b	0.9 %	1.3 %	2.3 %	0.2 %	8.7 %

(a) Percentages are the three-decade averages; (b) percentages are the three-decade average of the total.

Table ii.iv: Geographical Provenance, Procuratorial Appointees (1540 to 1569)

	Zadar ¹	Astarea ²	Contado ³	Novigrad ⁴	Nin ⁵	Islands ⁶	Dalmatia ⁷	rest, n/a ⁸
1540s	134	1	2	2	4	2	30	21
1550s	187	1	1	1	6	2	38	34
1560s	175	—	—	4	9	3	49	46
	496	2	3	7	19	7	117	101
% ^a	53.3 %	0.2 %	0.3 %	0.8 %	2 %	0.8 %	12.6 %	10.9 %

	Albania ⁹	Venice ¹⁰	Istria ¹¹	Ionia ¹²	Italy ¹³	Austria ¹⁴	Croatia ¹⁵	Levant ¹⁶
1540s	3	16	1	1	6	2	—	—
1550s		42	4	2	9	—	1	2
1560s	2	63	5	5	11	—	—	3
	5	121	10	8	26	2	1	5
% ^a	0.5 %	13 %	1.1 %	0.9 %	2.8 %	0.2 %	0.1 %	0.5 %

(a) Percentages are the three-decade averages.

(1) Zadar/Zara (Jadra) proper, excluding the suburban settlements.

(2) territory of the medieval district, including the suburban settlements, the following toponyms appear in the sources: Bibinje/Bibigne (Bibigne).

(3) territory subject to Zadar on the mainland, excluding the districts of Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado) and Nin/Nona (Nona), the following toponyms appear in the sources Jelsa/Gelsa (Jelsa) and Smoković/Smòcovich (Smochoovich).

(4) territory subject to Zadar's jurisdiction but organised in the district of Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado), the following toponyms appear in the sources: Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado), Posedarje/Possedaria (Pose-daria), and Slivnica/Slivnizza (Sliuniza).

(5) territory subject to Zadar's jurisdiction but organised in the district of Nin, the following toponyms appear in the sources: Nin (Nona) and Podvršje or Vršje (Verchè);

(6) islands subject to Zadar's jurisdiction, the following toponyms appear in the sources: Dugi Otok (Isola Lunga or Grossa), Molat (Melada), Pašman (Pasmano), Silba (Selve), and Ugljan (Ugliano);

(7) includes the following places in Venetian Dalmatia: Brač/La Brazza (Brachia, Brazza), Cres/Cherso (Cherso), Hvar/Lesina (Pharo, Lesina), Korčula/Corzola (Chorzula, Corcira), Krk/Veglia (Vegla), Omiš/Almissa (Alm-issa), Osor/Ossero (Aussero), Pag/Pago (Pago), Rab/Arbe (Arbe), Split/Spalato (Spalato), Šibenik/Sebenico (Sibinico), Trogir/Trau (Tragurij), Vis/Lissa (Lissa), and Vodice/Vodizze (Vodice).

(8) includes unidentified, unnamed, and the following toponyms: Bačka (Bascha), Boiste, Cepich, Cierna, Hun-gary, and Urcis novijs.

(9) includes the following places in Venetian Albania: Bar/Antivari (Antibari) and Kotor/Cattaro (Catharo).

- (10) includes both Venice proper as well as the following places on the Terraferma: Camisano, Chioggia, Cividale del Friuli, Grado, Mestre, Murano, Padua, Rovigo, Torcello, Udine, Verona, and Vicenza;
- (11) includes the following Venetian-controlled places in Istria: (*Baderna*), Barban/Barbana d'Istria (Barbano), Dvigrad/Duecastelli (Duograschina), Koper/Capodistria (Justinopolis), Motovun/Montona (Motovunschina), and Poreč/Parenzo (Parentio).
- (12) includes the following Venetian-controlled places in the Ionian Sea: Corfu, Kefalonia/Cefalonia (Cephalonia), and Zakynthos/Jacinto (Hiacynthi/Zante).
- (13) includes the following places in Italy excluding the Venetian Terraferma: Ancona, Bari, Bellona, Florence, (*Guasto*), Parma, Pescara, Pisauro, Pontremoli, Ragusa di Sicilia), Ravenna, Rimini, and Tarvisio.
- (14) includes the following Austrian-controlled places: Brixen/Bressanone (Brixia) and Rijeka/Fiume.
- (15) includes the following place in the Croatian hinterlands: Plavno (Plauno).
- (16) includes the following Venetian-controlled places in the Eastern Mediterranean: Crete/Candia and Nicosia.

Table ii.v: Destinations of the Procuratorial Appointees (1540 to 1569)

	Zadar ¹	Astarea ²	Contado ³	Novigrad ⁴	Nin ⁵	Islands ⁶	Dalmatia ⁷	rest, n/a ⁸
1540s	51	3	2	—	8	8	36	55
1550s	63	3	2	1	4	2	58	89
1560s	38	2	6	2	6	4	74	83
	152	8	10	3	18	14	168	227
% ^a	16.3 %	0.9 %	1.1 %	0.3 %	1.9 %	1.5 %	18.1 %	24.4 %

	Albania ⁹	Venice ¹⁰	Istria ¹¹	Levant ¹²	Italy ¹³	Austria ¹⁴	Croatia ¹⁵	Turkey ¹⁶
1540s	4	38	2	3	9	2	1	3
1550s	1	82	9	3	10	—	1	2
1560s	4	110	6	16	19	3	—	2
	9	230	17	22	38	5	2	7
% ^a	1 %	24.7 %	1.8 %	2.4 %	4.1 %	0.5 %	0.2 %	0.8 %

(a) Percentages are the three-decade averages.

- (1) Zadar/Zara (Jadra) proper;
- (2) territory of the medieval district, including the suburban settlements, the following toponyms appear in the sources: Bibinje/Bibigne (Bibigne), Gladuša/Gladussa (Gladussa), Kolovare/Colovare (Colovare), Puntamika/Punt'Amica (Puntamica), Sv Marko/Fontana dell'Imperatore (ad Sanctum Marcum), and Višnjik/San Giovanni (ad Sanctum Joannem).
- (3) territory subject to Zadar on the mainland, excluding the districts of Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado) and Nin/Nona (Nona) but including 2 villages from the minor district of Vrana/Aurana (Vrana)*, the following toponyms appear in the sources: Kotopaščina (Cottopaschina), Miljačka/Migliazza (Migliacza), Smoković/Smôcovich (Smochovich), Sv Filip i Jakov/Santi Filippo e Giacomo (Sancti Filippi et Jacobi), Tinj/Tino (Tinj)*, Veterinici/Veterinici (Veterinichi), Visočane/Visozzane (Visozane), and Vrana/Aurana (Vrana)*.
- (4) territory subject to Zadar's jurisdiction but organised in the district of Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado) but including one village in the minor district of Posedarje/Possedaria (Posedaria)†, the following toponyms appear in the sources: Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado) and Posedarje/Possedaria (Posedaria)†.
- (5) territory subject to Zadar's jurisdiction but organised in the district of Nin/Nona (Nona) but including one village in the minor district of Ljubač/Gliuba (Gliube)°, the following toponyms appear in the sources: Čakavci (Chiacavci), Ljubač/Gliuba (Gliube)°, Nin/Nona (Nona), and Podvršje, Vrši/Verchè (Podverie).
- (6) islands subject to Zadar's jurisdiction, the following toponyms appear in the sources: Dugi Otok/Isola Grossa, Lunga, Iž/Eso (Eso, Exo), Pašman/Pasmano (Pasmano), and Ugljan/Ugliano (Ugliano).
- (7) includes the following places in Venetian Dalmatia: Brač/La Brazza (Brachia, Brazza), Cres/Cherso (Cherso), Hvar/Lesina (Pharo, Lesina), Korčula/Curzola (Chorzula, Corcira), Krk/Veglia (Vegla), Omiš/Almissa (Alm-issa), Osor/Ossero (Aussero), Pag/Pago (Pago), Rab/Arbe (Arbe), Split/Spalato (Spalato), Šibenik/Sebenico (Sibinico), Trogir/Trau (Tragurij), Vis/Lissa (Lissa), Vodice/Vodizze (Vodice), and (*Zatin*).
- (8) includes unidentified, unnamed, and the following toponyms: Bačka (Bascha), Besca, Cernie, Dobrica, Grigno, Parge, Planin, Poljica, Porto Fermi, Sancti Petri Candidi, Tervini, Turrincalogi, Hungary, and 'Uskoks' (as in known but unspecified location).
- (9) includes the following places in Venetian Albania: Bar/Antivari (Antibari), Kotor/Cattaro (Catharo), and Perast/Perasto (Perasto).
- (10) includes both Venice proper as well as the following places on the Terraferma: Bergamo, Cividale del Friuli, Cerma, Padua, Trecenta, Udine, Verona, and Vicenza.

- (11) includes the following Venetian-controlled places in Istria: Buje/Buie (Buie), Buzet/Pinguente (Bussetto, Pinguenti), Koper/Capodistria (Justinopolis), Labin/Albona (Albona), Lobarika/Lavarigo (Lobarica), Motovun/Montona (Motovunschina), Poreč/Parenzo (Parentio), Pula/Pola (Pola), (*Serbar*), Sv Lovreč/San Lorenzo del Pasenatico (Sancti Lovrec), and Višnjan/Visignano (Visunato).
- (12) includes the following Venetian-controlled places in the Eastern Mediterranean: Corfu, Kefalonia/Cefalonia (Cephalonia), and Zakynthos/Jacinto (Hiacynthi/Zante) in the Ionian Sea as well as Crete/Candia, Cyprus, Nafplion/Nauplio (Napoli romanie), and Nicosia.
- (13) includes the following places in Italy excluding the Venetian Terraferma: Ancona, Apulia (as in region of), Bari, Bologna, Ferrara, (*Guasto*), Manfredonia, Marche (as in region of), Parma, Pescara, Pisauro, Pontremoli, Rimini, Rome, and Tarvisio.
- (14) includes the following Austrian-controlled places: Brixen/Bressanone, Rijeka/Fiume, and Trieste.
- (15) includes the following place in the Croatian hinterlands: Zagreb.
- (16) includes the following places then part of the Ottoman Empire: Bosnia, Istanbul/Constantinople, Klis/Clissa, Obrovac/Obrovazzo (Obrouazo), Oštrovica/Ostrovizza (Ostroviza), and Shkodër/Scutari (Scutari).

Table ii.vi: Procuratorial Destinations in Venetian Dalmatia and Albania (1540 to 1569)

	Brač	Cres, Osor	Hvar	Korčula	Krk	Omiš	Pag
total no. ¹	6	8	17	7	17	3	18

	Rab	Split	Šibenik	Trogir	Zadar	Brač, Hvar, Vis ²
total no. ¹	19	6	49	14	205	4

	Bar	Kotor	Perast	Dalmatia ³	Dalmatia incl. ⁴	Albania
total no. ¹	1	7	1	168	373	9

- (1) total number of individual appointments during the entire three decades from 1 January, 1540, to 31 December, 1569.
- (2) four times the three islands of Brač/La Brazza (Brachia, Brazza), Hvar/Lesina (Pharo, Lesina), and Vis/Lissa (Lissa) were given as the destination, these instances are not counted in the respective columns of Brač and Hvar.
- (3) total number of individual appointments in Venetian Dalmatia excluding the city and jurisdiction of Zadar.
- (4) total number of individual appointments in Venetian Dalmatia including the city and jurisdiction of Zadar.

Table ii.vii: Representation in Business Deals (1540 to 1569)

	emptions ¹	proc. ^a	concess. ²	proc. ^a	locationes ³	proc. ^a	civitas ⁴	proc. ^a
1540s	352	41	118	56	34	22	81	19
1550s	356	46	171	82	75	47	71	11
1560s	359	36	189	89	117	71	103	16
	1,067	123	478	227	226	140	255	46
% ^b		11.5 %		47.5 %		61.9 %		18 %

	emptions ⁵	proc. ^a	concess. ⁶	proc. ^a	locationes ⁷	proc. ^a	civitas ⁸	proc. ^a
1540s	352	30	118	10	34	4	81	13
1550s	356	46	171	26	75	9	71	6
1560s	359	27	189	27	117	14	103	7
	1,067	103	478	63	226	27	255	26
% ^b		9.7 %		13.2 %		11.9 %		10.2 %

Sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JM (1545–1569), JMM (1540–1554), MAS (1544–1548), NC (1558–1567), ND (1540–1566), PB (1540–1569). In all, 2,026 individual contracts were analysed.

(a) Number of instances per decade in which a representative other than the respective contracting party stipulated on behalf of the former, the bottom line give the total number; (b) percentages are the three-decade averages share of representatives among the stipulating parties.

- (1) number of constituent parties selling property per decade in Zadar's jurisdiction between 1 January, 1540, and 31 December, 1569.
 (2) number of constituent parties conceding property per decade in Zadar's jurisdiction.
 (3) lists number of constituent parties leasing property per decade in Zadar's jurisdiction.
 (4) lists number of constituent parties selling property per decade in Zadar proper.
 (5) lists number of constituent parties acquiring property per decade in Zadar's jurisdiction.
 (6) lists number of constituent parties having been conceded property per decade in Zadar's jurisdiction.
 (7) lists number of constituent parties renting property per decade in Zadar's jurisdiction.
 (8) lists number of constituent parties acquiring property per decade in Zadar proper.

Vending market data

In general, the subsequent tables relative to the vending market analysis are based upon the following sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JM (1545–1569), JMM (1540–1554), MAS (1544–1548), NC (1558–1567), ND (1540–1566), PB (1540–1569), PS (1545–1551), SB (1556–1565), SM (1555–1567). In all, 1,067 individual contracts were analysed.

Table iii: Overview (1540 to 1569)

	no. of acts ¹	% of total ²	Latin ³	'Italian' ⁴	mixed ⁵	♀ sellers ⁶	♀ buyers ⁷
1540s	352	33 %	350	–	2	66	21
1550s	356	33.4 %	356	–	–	58	21
1560s	359	33.6 %	356	3	–	49	46
	1,067	100 %	1,062	3	2	173	88
			99.5 % ^a	0.3 % ^a	0.2 % ^a	16.2 % ^b	8.2 % ^b

(a) Percentages are the three-decade averages; (b) percentages are the three-decade average of the total.

(1) total number of notarial instruments.

(2) share of each decade of total.

(3) number of instruments in Latin.

(4) number of instruments in the Venetian variant of Italian.

(5) number of instruments in both languages.

(6) number of female sellers (counted were only those instances in which women alone stipulated).

(7) number of female buyers (counted were only those instances in which women alone stipulated).

Table iii.i: Socio-functional Provenance, Vending Parties (1540 to 1569)

	nobilitas	clerus	artifices	miles	mercatores	intelligentsia	rest, n/a
1540s	31	10	42	12	3	2	252
1550s	27	17	23	10	5	4	270
1560s	29	16	37	6	8	9	254
	87	43	102	28	16	15	776
% ^a	8.2 %	4 %	9.6 %	2.6 %	1.5 %	1.4 %	72.7 %

	♀ of these	nob. of these	nob. of these	nob. of these	nob. of these
1540s	8	2	–	–	1
1550s	11	1	–	1	–
1560s	4	1	1	–	–
	23	4	1	1	1
% ^b	2.2 %	0.4 %	0.1 %	0.1 %	0.1 %

(a) Percentages are the three-decade averages; (b) percentages are the three-decade average of the total.

Table iii.ii: Geographical Provenance, Vending Parties (1540 to 1569)

	Zadar ¹	Suburbs ²	Astarea ³	Contado ⁴	Islands ⁵	Nin ⁶	Novigrad ⁷	Ljubač ⁸
1540s	184	21	14	14	66	11	4	–
1550s	174	59	8	14	37	11	4	–
1560s	169	39	8	11	79	7	4	3
	527	119	30	39	182	29	12	3
% ^a	49.4 %	11.2 %	2.8 %	3.7 %	17.1 %	2.7 %	1.1 %	0.3 %

	Venice ⁹	Istria ¹⁰	Italy ¹¹	Dalmatia ¹²	Croatia ¹³	n/a ¹⁴
1540s	1	–	5	2	–	30
1550s	–	2	1	–	–	46
1560s	1	–	4	6	1	27
	2	2	10	8	1	103
% ^a	0.2 %	0.2 %	0.9 %	0.7 %	0.1 %	9.6 %

(a) Percentages are the three-decade averages.

(1) Zadar/Zara (Jadra) proper.

(2) Zadar's suburban settlements.

(3) territory of the medieval district, including the suburban settlements, the following toponyms appear in the sources: Bokanjac/Boccagnazzo (Bocagnazzo), Brodarica/Valdimastro–Cabrona (in valle magistra), Crno/Cerno (Cerno), Gaženica/Porto Nuovo (Gasenica), and Puntamika/Punt'Amica (Puntamika).

(4) territory subject to Zadar on the mainland, excluding the districts of Ljubač/Gliuba (Gliube), Nin/Nona (Nona), and Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado), including: Artikovo (Articovo), Blato/Blato (Blato), Brda/Berdo (Berda), Gorica/Gorizza (Goriza), Grobnica/Grommizza (Gromniza), Grusi/Grue (Grusi), Kotopaščina (Cottopaschina), Kožino/Càproli, Còsino (Cosinoselo), Murvica/Murvizza (Murvizza), Petrčane//Porto Schiavina (Peterzane), Poričane (Porizane), Račice/Racice (Racice), (*Stomorinoselo*), Sukošan/Porto d'Oro, San Cassiano (Sancti Cassiani), Sv Filip i Jakov/Santi Filippo e Giacomo (Sancti Filippi et Jacobi), Tršći (Tersci), and Turanj/Torretta, Turretta (Turretta).

(5) islands subject to Zadar's jurisdiction, the following toponyms appear in the sources:

Dugi Otok/Isola Lunga or Grossa: Brbinj/Berbigno (Berbigne), Sali (Sale), Savar/Sauro (Sauro), and Zaglav/Zaglava (Zaglava);

Pašman/Pasmano (Pasmano): Banj/Bagno di Pasmano (Bagno), Dobropoljana/Dobrapogliana (Dobrapogliana), Nevidane/Neviane or Novigliano (Neviane), Pašman/Pasmano (Pasmano), Punta Pašman/Punta Pasmano (Puncta di Pasmano), Tkon/Tuconio (Tchoni), and Ždrelac/Sdrela or Stagno di Pasmano (Sdrelaz); Ugljan/Ugliano (Ugliano): Kali/Mul or Cale (Calle), Lukoran/Lucorano (Lucorano), Preko/Oltre (Oltre), Sutomiščica/Sant'Eufemia (Sancte Euphemie), and Ugljan/Ugliano (Ugliano);

And the three minor islands of Iž/Eso (Eso, Exo), Rava/Rava (Raua), Vrgada/Vergada (Vergata).

(6) territory subject to Zadar's jurisdiction but organised in the district of Nin/Nona (Nona), the following toponyms appear in the sources: Ambrozeselo (Ambroschiaselo), Čakavci (Chiacavci), (*Chupari*), Hraščane (Chraschiane), Nin/Nona (Nona), Podvršje, Vrši/Verchè (Podverie), Privlaka/Brevilacqua (Bevilaqua), Vir/Puntadura (Punctadura), and Zaton/Zaton (Zaton).

(7) territory subject to Zadar's jurisdiction but organised in the district of Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado) including the minor district of Posedarje/Possedaria (Posedaria)*, the following toponyms appear in the sources: Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado), Plernić (Plernich), Posedarje/Possedaria (Posedaria)*, and Slivnica/Slivnizza (Sliuniza).

(8) territory subject to Zadar's jurisdiction but organised in the district of minor district of Ljubač/Gliuba (Gliube), the following toponyms appear in the sources: Ljubač/Gliuba (Gliube) and Punta Ljubač (Punta Gliube).

(9) Venice proper.

(10) places in Venetian Istria, including: Koper/Capodistria (Justinopolis) and Pula/Pola (Pola).

(11) includes the following places in Italy excluding the Venetian Terraferma: Alta Badia (alla Badia), Ancona, Apulia (as in region of), and Alfonsina.

(12) includes the following places in Venetian Dalmatia: Krk/Veglia (Vegla), Pag/Pago (Pago), Skradin/Scardona (Scardona), Split/Spalato (Spalato), Šibenik/Sebenico (Sibinico), and Trogir/Trau (Tragurij).

(13) includes the following place in the Croatian hinterlands: Samobor.

(14) includes unidentified, unnamed, and/ unspecified toponyms.

Table iii.iii: Socio-functional provenance of the buyers (1540 to 1569)

	nobilitas	clerus	artifices	miles	mercatores	intelligentsia	rest, n/a
1540s	36	35	56	18	41	13	153
1550s	28	47	46	17	45	31	142
1560s	54	40	44	10	34	17	160
	118	122	146	45	120	61	455
% ^a	11.1 %	11.4 %	13.7	4.2 %	11.2 %	5.7 %	42.6 %

	♀ of these	nob. of these	nob. of these
1540s	4	—	12
1550s	4	—	11
1560s	12	1	3
	20	1	26
% ^b	1.9 %	0.1 %	2.4 %

(a) Percentages are the three-decade averages; (b) percentages are the three-decade average of the total.

Table iii.iv: Geographical provenance of the buyers (1540 to 1569)

	Zadar ¹	Suburbs ²	Astarea ³	Contado ⁴	Islands ⁵	Nin ⁶	Ljubač ⁷	Novigrad ⁸
1540s	238	9	7	9	40	7	3	4
1550s	253	15	7	10	30	8	—	4
1560s	235	7	8	11	46	9	3	3
	726	31	22	30	116	24	6	11
% ^a	68 %	2.9 %	2.1 %	2.8 %	10.9 %	2.2 %	0.6 %	1 %

	Vrana ⁹	Italy ¹⁰	Venice ¹¹	Dalmatia ¹²	n/a ¹³
1540s	1	—	—	1	33
1550s	1	1	—	3	24
1560s	2	—	1	2	32
	4	1	1	6	89
% ^a	0.4 %	0.1 %	0.1 %	0.6 %	8.3 %

(a) Percentages are the three-decade averages.

(1) Zadar/Zara (Jadra) proper.

(2) Zadar's suburban settlements.

(3) territory of the medieval district, including the suburban settlements, the following toponyms appear in the sources: Bibinje/Bibigne (Bibigne), Bokanjac/Boccagnazzo (Bocagnazzo), Crno/Cerno (Cerno) Diklo/Diclo (Diclo), Galovac/Galovazzo (Galovaz), Gladuša/Gladussa (Gladussa), Koprani (Coprani), and Puntamika/Punt'Amica (Puntamika).

(4) territory subject to Zadar on the mainland, excluding the districts of Ljubač/Gliuba (Gliube), Nin/Nona (Nona), and Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado), the following toponyms appear in the sources: Artikovo (Articovo), Blato/Blato (Blato), Brda/Berdo (Berda), Briševo/Brissevo (Briseuo), Grusi/Grue (Grusi), Kožino/Càproli, Còsino (Cosinoselo), Miljačka/Migliazza (Migliacza), Petrčane/Porto Schiavina (Peterzane), Polišane (Polissane), Račice/Racice (Racice), Ražanac/Rasanze (Rasance), Sukošan/Porto d'Oro, San Cassiano (Sancti Cassiani), Sv Filip i Jakov/Santi Filippo e Giacomo (Sancti Filippi et Jacobi), and Turanj/Torretta, Turreta (Turreta).

(5) islands subject to Zadar's jurisdiction but off the coast, the following toponyms appear in the sources: Dugi Otok/Isola Lunga or Grossa: Brbinj/Berbigno (Bibigne), Sale/Sali (Sale), and Savar/Sauro (Sauro); Pašman/Pasmano (Pasmano): Banj/Bagno di Pasmano (Bagno), Dobropoljana/Dobrapogliana (Dobrapogliana), Nevidane/Neviane or Novigliano (Neviane), Pašman/Pasmano (Pasmano), Punta Pašman/Punta Pasmano (Puncta di Pasmano), Tkon/Tucconio (Tchoni), Ždrelac/Sdrela or Stagno di Pasmano (Sdrelaz); Ugljan/Ugliano (Ugliano): Kali/Mul or Cale (Calle), Lukoran/Lucorano (Lucorano), Sutomišćica/Sant'Eufemia (Sancte Euphemie), and Ugljan/Ugliano (Ugliano);

And the four minor islands of Iž/Eso (Eso, Exo), Molat/Melada (Melada), Silba/Selve (Silba), and Vrgada/Vergada (Vergata).

- (6) territory subject to Zadar's jurisdiction but organised in the district of Nin/Nona (Nona), the following toponyms appear in the sources: Čakavci (Chiacavci), Čerinci (Cerinci), Nin/Nona (Nona), Podvršje, Vrši/Verchè (Podverie), Poljica/Poglizza (Pogliza), Privlaka/Brevilacqua (Bevilaqua), and Vir/Puntadura (Punctadura).
- (7) territory subject to Zadar's jurisdiction but organised in the district of minor district of Ljubač/Gliuba (Gliube), including: Ljubač/Gliuba (Gliube) and Punta Ljubač (Punta Gliube).
- (8) territory subject to Zadar's jurisdiction but organised in the district of Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado) including the minor district of Posedarje/Possedaria (Posedaria)*, the following toponyms appear in the sources: Donji Kašić (Cassich), Rupalj, Koruplje (Corpuaglie), Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado), Plernić (Plernich), Posedarje/Possedaria (Posedaria)*, and Slivnica/Slivnizza (Sliuniza).
- (9) One source mentions the village of Vrana/Aurana (Vrana).
- (10) includes the following place in Italy excluding the Venetian Terraferma: Ravenna.
- (11) Venice proper.
- (12) includes the following places in Venetian Dalmatia: Krk/Veglia (Vegla), Lošinj/Lussino (Lussino), Murter/Mortèr (Morter), Skradin/Scardona (Scardona), and Šibenik/Sebenico (Sibinico).
- (13) includes unidentified, unnamed, and/ unspecified toponyms.

Table iii.v: Transferred Property, Overview (1540 to 1569)

	total area ¹	square metres ²	hectares ³	ø in gonjaj ⁴	ø in square mt. ⁵	ø in hectares ⁶
1540s	1,542.4	3,681,459.3	368.1	4.4	10,428	1
1550s	1,412.5	3,347,151	334.7	4	9,480	0.9
1560s	2,955.3	7,023,644.5	702.4	8.2	19,434	1.9
total ^a	5,910.2	14,052,254.8	1,405.2	ø 5.5 ^b	ø 13,114 ^b	ø 1.3 ^b

(a) gives the three-decade total; (b) three-decade averages in the respective units of measurement.

(1) total area transferred in gonjaj (or morgen, 1 gonjaj = ca. 2,370 square metres);

(2) total area transferred in square metres;

(3) total area transferred in hectare (1 hectare = 10,000 square metres);

(4) average size of property transferred per transaction in gonjaj;

(5) average size of property transferred per transaction in square metres;

(6) average size of property transferred per transaction in hectares.

Table iii.vi: Transferred land, turnover and details (1540 to 1569)

	Contado ¹	total/gonjaj ^a	average/gonjaj ^b	total/ducats ^c	aveage/ducats ^d	ø price/gonjaj ^e
1540s	16	70.4	4.4	216	13.5	3.1
1550s	26	218	8.4	509.3	19.6	2.3
1560s	48	1,079.3	22.5	2,001.7	41.7	1.8
	90 ^f	1,367.7 ^f	ø = 11.8 gonjaj	2,727 ducats ^f	ø = 24.9 ducats	ø = 1.8 ducats
	Islands ²	total/gonjaj ^a	average/gonjaj ^b	total/ducats ^c	aveage/ducats ^d	ø price/gonjaj ^e
1540s	93	172.9	1.8	948.2	10.2	5.5
1550s	62	202.8	3.3	814.8	13.1	4
1560s	101	298.1	2.9	1,648.2	16.3	5.5
	256	673.8 ^f	ø = 2.67 gonjaj	3,411.2 ducats ^f	ø = 13.2 ducats	ø = 5 ducats
	Astarea ³	total/gonjaj ^a	average/gonjaj ^b	total/ducats ^c	aveage/ducats ^d	ø price/gonjaj ^e
1540s	171	602.3	3.5	2,948.6	17.2	4.9
1550s	186	541.1	2.9	3,551.3	19.1	6.6
1560s	138	357.5	2.6	3,623.1	26.3	10.1
	495	1,500.9 ^f	ø = 3 gonjaj	10,123 ducats ^f	ø = 20.9 ducats	ø 7.2 ducats
	Nin ⁴	total/gonjaj ^a	average/gonjaj ^b	total/ducats ^c	aveage/ducats ^d	ø price/gonjaj ^e
1540s	33	552.3	16.7	640.7	1.2	1.2
1550s	17	229.5	13.5	223.1	13.1	1
1560s	18	366	20.3	621.6	34.5	1.7
	68	1,147.8 ^f	ø = 16.9 gonjaj	1,485.4 ducats ^f	ø = 16.3 ducats	ø = 1.3 ducats
	Novigrad ⁵	Ljubač ⁶	n/a ⁷	total/ducats ⁸	ø price/gonjaj ⁹	ø price/hectare ¹⁰
1540s	6	3	30	5,071.8	3.8	15.9
1550s	5	–	61	6,105.6	5.8	21.1
1560s	7	3	43	9,351.5	4.2	28.9
	18	6	134	20,528.9 ducats ^f	ø = 4.6 ducats	ø = 22 ducats

(a) total number of gonjaj transferred in the respective decade (1 gonjaj = ca. 2,370 square metres); (b) average number of gonjaj transferred in the respective decade; (c) total price in ducats (1 ducat = 6 libras 4 solidi); (d) average price paid per transaction in the respective decade; (e) average price of 1 gonjaj in ducats in the respective decade; (f) totals are the three-decade sums; (ø) ø = three-decade averages.

- (1) territory subject to Zadar on the mainland, excluding the districts of Ljubač/Gliuba (Gliube), Nin/Nona (Nona), and Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigado), property was transferred in the vicinity near: Blato/Blato (Blato), Briševo/Brissevo (Briseuo), Drenovac/Drinovazzo (Drinovazzo), Gorica/Gorizza (Goriza), Grobnica/Grommizza (Gromniza), Grusi/Grue (Grusi), Kamenjani (Chamegnani), Kotopaščina (Cotto-paschina), Kožino/Caproli, Còsino (Cosinoselo), Miljačka/Migliazza (Migliacza), Murvica/Murvizza (Murvizza), Petrčane/Porto Schiavina (Peterzane), Podi/Podi (Podi), Račice/Racice (Racice), Ražanac/Rasanze (Rasance), Rogovo/Rogovo (Rogovo), Sukošan/Porto d'Oro, San Cassiano (Sancti Cassiani), Sv Filip i Jakov/Santi Filippo e Giacomo (Sancti Filippi et Jacobi), Tršci (Tersci), Turanj/Torretta, Turretta (Tur-retta), Veterinici/Veterinici (Veterinichi), Zemunik/Zemonico (Zemonico), Zlovšane (Slouhsane).
- (2) islands subject to Zadar's jurisdiction but off the coast, property was transferred near the following places: Dugi Otok/Isola Lunga or Grossa: Brbinj/Berbigno (Berbigne), Rat Veli/Punte Bianche (Punta Bianca), Sale/Sali (Sale), Savar/Sauro (Sauro), and Zaglav/Zaglava (Zaglava); Pašman/Pasmano (Pasmano): Banj/Bagno di Pasmano (Bagno), Dobropoljana/Dobrapogliana (Dobrapogli-ana), Nevidane/Neviane or Novigliano (Neviane), Pašman/Pasmano (Pasmano), Punta Pašman/Punta Pas-mano (Puncta di Pasmano), Tkon/Tucconio (Tchoni), Ždrelac/Sdrela or Stagno di Pasmano (Sdrelaz); Ugljan/Ugliano (Ugliano): Činta/Cinta (Chinta), Kali/Mul or Cale (Calle), Kukljica/Camera, Cucchizza, or Cuclicza (Chuchgliza), Lukoran/Lucorano (Lucorano), Preko/Oltre (Oltre), Sutomišćica/Sant'Eufemia

(Sancte Euphemie), Sušica/Sussizza (Sussiza), and Ugljan/Ugliano (Ugliano);

And the four minor islands of Iž/Eso (Eso, Exo), Rava/Rava (Raua), Silba/Selve (Silba), and Vrgada/Vergada (Vergata).

- (3) territory of the medieval district, including the suburban settlements, property was transferred near: Bibinje/Bibigne (Bibigne), Bili Brig/Belvedere (Belvederium), Bokanjac/Boccagnazzo (Bocagnazzo), Brodarica/Valdimastro–Cabrana (in valle magistra), Crno/Cerno (Cerno), Crvene Kuće/Caserosse (Drassaniza), Diklo/Diclo (Diclo), Gaženica/Porto Nuovo (Gasenica), Gladuša/Gladussa (Gladussa), Klikor (Chlichor), Kolovare/Colovare (Colovare), Lazareto/Lazaretto (lazarettum), Paprad (Paprad), Ponton (Pontone), Puntamika/Punt'Amica (Puntamica), Smiljevac/Pozzaio (Smiglievaz), Višnjik/San Giovanni (ad Sanctum Joannem), and Voštarnica/Ceraria–Barcagno (ultra barchaneum).
- (4) territory of the district of Nin/Nona (Nona) excluding the minor district of Ljubač/Gliuba (Gliube), property was transferred near: Bilotinjak (Bilotignach), Čakavci (Chiacavci), Čerinci (Cerinci) Černise (Cernise), Grbe (Garbe), Hrašćija (Chraschia), Nin/Nona (Nona), Obrovica (Obroviza), Papratnič (*Papratnich*), Poljica/Poglizza (Pogliza), Prhulje (*Prachuglie*), Privlaka/Brevilacqua (Bevilaqua), Rična (*Richna*), Slocrajci (*Slocraici*), Vir/Puntadura (Punctadura), Zaton/Zaton (Zaton), and Zrinokošćica (*Srinochoscisse*).
- (5) territory of the district of Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado) including the minor district of Posedarje/Possedaria (Posedaria)*, property was transferred in the vicinity of the following places: Rupalj, Koruplje (Corpuaglie), Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado), Pečarovci (*Pechiarovci*), Plernić (*Plernich*), Posedarje/Possedaria (Posedaria)*, Režane/Reggiane (Regiane), Slivnica/Slivnizza (Sliuniza), Trščane (Terschiane), and Ždrgolo (*Schrogolo*).
- (6) territory of the minor district of Ljubač/Gliuba (Gliube), property transferred was in the vicinity of the following places: Ljubač/Gliuba (Gliube) and Punta Ljubač (Punta Gliube).

Table ii.vii: Locations of Stipulation (1540 to 1569)

	platea ¹	apotheca ²	domus ³	cancellaria ⁴	ecclesia ⁵	et al. ⁶
1540s	154	44	90	19	11	34
1550s	106	63	85	75	11	16
1560s	112	47	113	50	8	29
	372	154	288	144	30	79
	34.9 % ^a	14.4 % ^a	27 % ^a	13.5 % ^a	2.8 % ^a	7.4 % ^a

(a) Percentages are the three-decade averages.

- (1) lists the number of notarial instruments written in the various public spaces of Zadar (main square, the loggia, the jurist's bench, minor squares, etc.);
- (2) lists the number of notarial instruments stipulated one of the businessmen's retail/storage facilities, i.e. semi-public space;
- (3) lists the number notarial instruments stipulated in private houses of a public official, i.e. semi-public space;
- (4) lists the number of notarial instruments stipulated in one of the city's chancellories (communal, criminal, or ducal) while the chancellor was not acting on behalf of either entity, i.e. in public space used for private purposes;
- (5) lists the number of notarial instruments stipulated in one of the city's churches, at their doorsteps, or in one of the city's convents;
- (6) lists the number of notarial instruments stipulated elsewhere in or outside the city.

Concessions market data

In general, the subsequent tables relative to the concessions analysis are based upon the following sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JM (1545–1569), JMM (1540–1554), MAS (1544–1548), NC (1558–1567), ND (1540–1566), PB (1540–1569), PS (1545–1551), SB (1556–1565), SM (1555–1567). In all, 478 individual contracts were analysed.

Table iv: Overview (1540 to 1569)

	no. of acts ¹	% of total ²	Latin ³	‘Italian’ ⁴	mixed ⁵	♀ landlords ⁶	♀ tenants ⁷
1540s	118	24.7 %	118	–	–	13	2
1550s	171	35.8 %	171	–	–	13	4
1560s	189	39.5 %	183	6	–	9	1
	478	100 %	472	6	–	35	7
			98.7 % ^a	1.3 % ^a		7.3 % ^b	1.5 % ^b

(a) Percentages are the three-decade averages; (b) percentages are the three-decade average of the total.

(1) total number of notarial instruments.

(2) share of each decade of total.

(3) number of instruments in Latin.

(4) number of instruments in the Venetian variant of Italian.

(5) number of instruments in both languages.

(6) number of female sellers (counted were only those instances in which women alone stipulated).

(7) number of female buyers (counted were only those instances in which women alone stipulated).

Table iv.i: Socio-functional Provenance, Landlords (1540 to 1569)

	nobilitas	clerus	artifices	miles	mercatores	intelligentsia	rest, n/a
1540s	33	33	13	4	11	5	19
1550s	71	57	5	5	10	12	11
1560s	94	44	8	11	2	13	17
	198	134	26	20	23	30	47
% ^a	41.4 %	28 %	5.4 %	4.2 %	4.8 %	6.3 %	9.8 %
	♀ of these	people ¹		nob. of these		nob. of these	
1540s	2	7		–		3	
1550s	5	15		2		4	
1560s	5	11		9		7	
	12	33		11		14	
% ^b	2.5 %	6.9 %		2.3 %		2.9 %	

(a) Percentages are the three-decade averages; (b) percentages are the three-decade average of the total.

(1) number of people not institutions among the constituent land-owning parties in the clergy category.

Table iv.ii: Geographical Provenance, Landlords (1540 to 1569)

	Zadar ¹	Suburbs ²	Astarea ³	Contado ⁴	Islands ⁵	Nin ⁶	Novigrad ⁷	Venice ⁸
1540s	104	1	4	—	—	3	—	—
1550s	151	3	5	1	—	4	1	—
1560s	170	1	3	4	1	3	—	3
	425	5	12	5	1	10	1	3
% ^a	88.9 %	1 %	2.5 %	1 %	0.2 %	2.1 %	0.2 %	0.6 %

	Dalmatia ⁹	rest, n/a ¹⁰
1540s	2	4
1550s	1	5
1560s	—	4
	3	13
% ^a	0.6 %	2.7 %

(a) Percentages are the three-decade averages.

(1) Zadar/Zara (Jadra) proper.

(2) Zadar's suburban settlements.

(3) territory of the medieval district, including the suburban settlements, including the following toponyms: Bokanjac/Boccagnazzo (Bocagnazzo), Crno/Cerno (Cerno), and Puntamika/Punt'Amica (Puntamica).

(4) territory subject to Zadar on the mainland, excluding the districts of Ljubač/Gluba (Gliube), Nin/Nona (Nona), and Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado), the following toponyms appear in the sources: Petrčane// Porto Schiavina (Peterzane), Rogovo/Rogovo (Rogovo), and Veterinici/Veterinici (Veterinichi).

(5) islands subject to Zadar's jurisdiction, the following toponyms appear in the sources: Preko/Oltre (Oltre) and Ugljan/Ugliano (Ugliano), both situated on the eponymous island.

(6) territory subject to Zadar's jurisdiction but organised in the district of Nin/Nona (Nona), the following toponym appears in the sources: Nin/Nona (Nona).

(7) territory subject to Zadar's jurisdiction but organised in the district of Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado), the following toponym appears in the sources: Novigrad/Novegradi (Novogrado).

(8) Venice proper.

(9) includes the following places in Venetian Dalmatia: Krk/Veglia (Vegla) and Trogir/Traù (Tragurij).

(10) lists the number of unidentified, unnamed, and/or unspecified toponyms.

Table iv.iii: Socio-functional Provenance, Tenants (1540 to 1569)

	nobilitas	clerus	artifices	miles	mercatores	intelligentsia	rest, n/a
1540s	—	5	9	1	—	1	102
1550s	1	7	13	2	1	1	146
1560s	—	5	6	1	1	1	175
	1	17	28	4	2	3	423
% ^a	0.2 %	3.6 %	5.9 %	0.8 %	0.4 %	0.6 %	88.5 %

(a) Percentages are the three-decade averages; (b) percentages are the three-decade average of the total.

Table iv.iv: Geographical Provenance, Tenants (1540 to 1569)

	Zadar ¹	Suburbs ²	Astarea ³	Contado ⁴	Islands ⁵	Nin ⁶	Novigrad ⁷	Vrana ⁸
1540s	55	28	5	2	8	10	2	—
1550s	56	25	11	24	23	3	2	—
1560s	50	38	10	27	15	6	5	2
	161	91	26	53	46	19	9	2
% ^a	33.7 %	19 %	5.4 %	11.1 %	9.6 %	4 %	1.9 %	0.4 %

	Dalmatia ⁹	rest, n/a ¹⁰
1540s	—	8
1550s	2	25
1560s	—	36
	2	69
% ^a	0.4 %	14.4 %

(a) Percentages are the three-decade averages.

(1) Zadar/Zara (Jadra) proper.

(2) Zadar's suburban settlements.

(3) territory of the medieval district, including the suburban settlements, the following toponyms appear in the sources: Bibinje/Bibigne (Bibigne), Bokanjac/Boccagnazzo (Bocagnazzo), Brodarica/Valdimastro–Cabrana (in valle magistra), Crno/Cerno (Cerno), Gaženica/Porto Nuovo (Gasenica), and Puntamika/Punt'Amica (Puntamica).

(4) territory subject to Zadar on the mainland, excluding the districts of Ljubač/Gliuba (Gliube), Nin/Nona (Nona), and Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado), the following toponyms appear in the sources: Artikovo (Articovo), Biograd na moru/Zaravecchia (Zaretum vetus), Brda/Berdo (Berda), Briševo/Brissevo (Briseuo), Crnogoriščina (Cernogerschina), Galovac/Galovazzo (Galovaz), Grusi/Grue (Gruse), Jelsa/Gelsa (Jelsa), Kamenjani (Chamegnane), Kotopaščina (Cottopaschina), Kožino/Câproli, Còsino (Cosinoselo), Miljačka/Migliazza (Migliacza), Mokro/Mocro (Mocro), Murvica/Murvizza (Murvizza), Petračane/Porto Schiavina (Peterzane), Podi/Podi (Podi), Polišane/Polissane (Polisane), Račice/Racice (Racice), Ražanac/Rasanze (Rasance), Starošane (Starossane), Suhovare (Suovare), Sv Filip i Jakov/Santi Filippo e Giacomo (Sancti Filippi et Jacobi), Sv Petar na moru (literally St Peter by the Sea, today a part of Sv Filip i Jakov), Tršci (Tersci), Turanj/Torretta, Turretta (Turretta), Varikašane/Varicassane (Varichassane), and Visočane/Visozzane (Visozane).

(5) islands subject to Zadar's jurisdiction, the following toponyms appear in the sources:

Dugi Otok/Isola Lunga or Grossa: Rat Veli/Punte Bianche (Punta Bianca) and Sale/Sali (Sale);

Pašman/Pasmano (Pasmano): Banj/Bagno di Pasmano (Bagno), Dobropoljana/Dobrapogliana (Dobrapogliana), Pašman/Pasmano (Pasmano), Punta Pašman/Punta Pasmano (Puncta di Pasmano), and Tkon/Tucconio (Tchoni);

Ugljan/Ugliano (Ugliano): Kukljica/Camera, Cucchizza, or Cuclizza (Chuchgliza), Lukoran/Lucorano (Luco-rano), and Ugljan/Ugliano (Ugliano);

And the minor islands of Iž/Eso (Eso, Exo), Molat/Melada (Melada), and Rava/Rava (Raua).

(6) territory subject to Zadar's jurisdiction but organised in the district of Nin/Nona (Nona), the following toponym appears in the sources: Brišane/Brissane (Brisane), Čerinci (Cerinci), Nin/Nona (Nona) Podvršje, Vrši/Verchè (Podverie), Privlaka/Brevilacqua (Bevilaqua), and Zaton/Zaton (Zaton).

(7) territory subject to Zadar's jurisdiction but organised in the district of Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado), the following toponym appears in the sources: Rupalj, Koruplje (Corpuaglie), Režane/Reggiane (Regiane), Slivnica/Slivnizza (Sliuniza), Trščane (Terschiane), and Zavod (Zavod).

(8) territory subject to Zadar's jurisdiction but organised in the district of Vrana/Aurana (Vrana), the following toponym appears in the sources: Pakošane/Porto Schiavine (Pachoschiane) and Tinj/Tino (Tinj).

(9) includes the following places in Venetian Dalmatia: Krk/Veglia, (Vegla) and Murter/Mortèr (Morter).

(10) lists the number of unidentified, unnamed, and/or too unspecified toponyms, the following toponyms appear in the sources: Poscagliana, Zahum, Raico or Raino, and Castro novo (too unspecified).

Table iv.v: Conceded Land, Overview (1540 to 1569)

	total area ¹	square metres ²	hectares ³	ø in gonjaj ⁴	ø in square mt. ⁵	ø in hectares ⁶
1540s	558.5	1,323,645	132.4	4.7	11,217.3	1.1
1550s	2,018.5	4,783,845	478.4	11.8	27,975.7	2.8
1560s	3563.8	8,435,385	843.5	18.8	46,663.2	4.5
total ^a	6,140.8	14,542,875	1,454.3	ø 11.8 ^b	ø 27,952.1 ^b	ø 2.8 ^b

(a) gives the three-decade total; (b) three-decade averages in the respective units of measurement.

(1) total area transferred in gonjaj (or morgen, 1 gonjaj = ca. 2,370 square metres).

(2) total area transferred in square metres.

(3) total area transferred in hectare (1 hectare = 10,000 square metres).

(4) average size of property transferred per transaction in gonjaj.

(5) average size of property transferred per transaction in square metres.

(6) average size of property transferred per transaction in hectares.

Table iii.vi: Geographical Distribution of Conceded Property (1540 to 1569)

	Contado ¹	Islands ²	Astarea ³	Novigrad ⁴	Vrana ⁵	Nin ⁶	rest, n/a ⁷
1540s	4	8	81	—	—	11	14
1550s	38	25	84	2	—	3	19
1560s	43	18	90	1	2	8	27
	85	51	255	3	2	22	60
% ^a	17.8 %	10.7 %	53.3 %	0.6 %	0.4 %	4.6 %	12.6 %

(a) Percentages are the three-decade averages.

(1) territory subject to Zadar/Zara (Jadra) on the mainland, excluding the districts of Ljubač/Gliuba (Gliube), Nin/Nona (Nona), Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado), property was rented near: Artikovo (Articovo), Biograd na moru/Zaravecchia (Zaretum vetus), Blato/Blato (Blato), Brda/Berdo (Berda), Briševo/Brissevo (Briseuo), Divni/Divini (Divini), Grusi/Grue (Gruse), Kotopaščina (Cottopaschina), Kožino/Càproli, Còsino (Cosinose), Miljačka/Migliazza (Migliacza), Mokro/Mocro (Mocro), Murvica/Murvizza (Murvizza), Petrcane/Porto Schiavina (Peterzane), Podi/Podi (Podi), Poričane/Porizzane (Porizane), Račice/Racice (Racice), Rogovo (Rogovo), Sikovo/Sicovo (Sicouo), Skril/Scrile (Scrile), Smoković/Smòcovich (Smochovich), Starošane (Starossane), Sukošan/Porto d'Oro, San Cassiano (Sancti Cassiani), Sv Filip i Jakov/Santi Filippo e Giacomo (Sancti Filippi et Jacobi), Tršci (Tersci), Turanj/Torretta, Turretta (Turretta), Uškipah (Ushipach), Veterinici/Veterinici (Veterinichi), and Visočane/Visozzane (Visozane).

(2) islands subject to Zadar's jurisdiction, property was rented in the vicinity of the following places:

Dugi Otok/Isola Lunga or Grossa: Rat Veli/Punte Bianche (Punta Bianca) and Sale/Sali (Sale);

Pašman/Pasmano (Pasmano): Banj/Bagno di Pasmano (Bagno), Dobropoljana/Dobrapogliana (Dobrapogliana), Pašman/Pasmano (Pasmano), Punta Pašman/Punta Pasmano (Puncta di Pasmano), Tkon/Tucconio (Tchoni), Ždrelac/Sdrela or Stagno di Pasmano (Sdrelaz);

Ugljan/Ugliano (Ugliano): Kukljica/Camera, Cucchizza, or Cuclizza (Chuchgliza), Sutomiščica/Sant'Eufemia (Sancte Euphemie), Sušica/Sussizza (Sussiza), and Ugljan/Ugliano (Ugliano);

And the two minor islands of Iž/Eso (Eso, Exo) and Rava/Rava (Raua).

(3) territory of the medieval district, including the suburban settlements, property was rented near: Bibinje/Bibigne (Bibigne), Bili Brig/Belvedere (Belvederium), Bokanjac/Bocagnazzo (Bocagnazzo), Brodarica/Valdimastro—Cabrona (in valle magistra), Crno/Cerno (Cerno), Crvene Kuće/Caserosse (Drassaniza), Diklo/Diclo (Diclo), Gaženica/Porto Nuovo (Gasenica), Kolovare/Colovare (Colovare), Kopranj (Copragnj), Lazareto/Lazaretto (lazarettum), Ponton (Pontone), Puntamika/Punt'Amica (Puntamica), Ražacon (Racanzoni), Smiljevac/Pozzaio (Smiglievac), Višnjik/San Giovanni (ad Sanctum Joannem), Voštarnica/Ceraria—Barcagno (ultra barchaneum), and Zerodo (Cerodolo, between Bokanjac and Diklo).

(4) territory subject to Zadar's jurisdiction but organised in the district of Novigrad/Novegrai (Novigrado), property was rented in the vicinity of the following places: Novigrad/Novegrai (Novigrado), Režane/Reggiane (Regiane), and Trščane (Terschiane).

(5) territory subject to Zadar's jurisdiction but organised in the district of Vrana/Aurana (Vrana), property was rented near: Pakoštane/Porto Schiavine (Pachoschiane) and Tinj/Tino (Tinj).

(6) territory subject to Zadar's jurisdiction but organised in the district of Nin/Nona (Nona), property was rented near: Bilotinjak (Bilotignach), (Brusi), Černica (Cernica), (Crisine), Grbe (Garbe), Nin/Nona (Nona), Ninsko jezero/Lago di Nona (lacus None), (Novoselci), Papratnič (Papratnich), Perkovo (Percovo), Podvršje, Vrši/Verchè (Podverie), Privlaka/Brevilacqua (Bevilaqua).

(7) lists the number of unidentified, unnamed, and/or too unspecified toponyms, and Venice proper only

Table iv.vii: Locations of Stipulation (1540 to 1569)

	platea ¹	apotheca ²	domus ³	cancellaria ⁴	ecclesia ⁵	et al. ⁶
1540s	66	12	17	7	7	9
1550s	80	11	37	37	5	1
1560s	65	12	44	42	4	22
	211	35	98	86	16	32
	44.1 % ^a	7.3 % ^a	20.5 % ^a	18 % ^a	3.3 % ^a	6.7 % ^a

(a) Percentages are the three-decade averages.

(1) lists the number of notarial instruments written in the various public spaces of Zadar (main square, the loggia, the jurist's bench, minor squares, etc.).

(2) lists the number of notarial instruments stipulated one of the businessmen's retail/storage facilities, i.e. semi-public space.

(3) lists the number notarial instruments stipulated in private houses of a public official, i.e. semi-public space.

(4) lists the number of notarial instruments stipulated in one of the city's chancellories (communal, criminal, or ducal) while the chancellor was not acting on behalf of either entity, i.e. in public space used for private purposes.

(5) lists the number of notarial instruments stipulated in one of the city's churches, at their doorsteps, or in one of the city's convents.

(6) lists the number of notarial instruments stipulated elsewhere in or outside the city.

Renting market data

In general, the subsequent tables relative to the renting market analysis are based upon the following sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JM (1545–1569), JMM (1540–1554), NC (1558–1567), ND (1540–1566), PB (1540–1569), PS (1545–1551), SB (1556–1565), SM (1555–1567). In all, 226 individual contracts were analysed.

Table v: Overview (1540 to 1569)

	no. of acts ¹	% of total ²	Latin ³	'Italian' ⁴	mixed ⁵	♀ landlords ⁶	♀ tenants ⁷
1540s	34	15 %	34	–	–	2	
1550s	75	33.2 %	73	2	–	12	1
1560s	117	51.8 %	96	21	–	13	7
	226	100 %	203	23	–	30	8
			89.8 % ^a	10.2 % ^a		13.3 % ^b	3.5 % ^b

(a) Percentages are the three-decade averages; (b) percentages are the three-decade average of the total.

(1) total number of notarial instruments.

(2) share of each decade of total.

(3) number of instruments in Latin.

(4) number of instruments in the Venetian variant of Italian.

(5) number of instruments in both languages.

(6) number of female sellers (counted were only those instances in which women alone stipulated).

(7) number of female buyers (counted were only those instances in which women alone stipulated).

Table v.i: Socio-functional Provenance, Landlords (1540 to 1569)

	nobilitas	clerus	artifices	mercatores	intelligentsia	miles	rest, n/a
1540s	12	13	4	1	—	—	4
1550s	31	21	4	—	3	4	12
1560s	61	27	3	—	9	4	13
	104	61	11	1	12	8	29
% ^a	46 %	27 %	4.9 %	0.4 %	5.3 %	2.5 %	12.8 %

	♀ of these	people ¹	nob. of these	nob. of these	nob. of these
1540s	1	1	—	—	—
1550s	5	3	1	3	—
1560s	13	4	—	5	1
	19	8	1	8	1
% ^b	8.4 %	3.5 %	0.4 %	3.5 %	0.4 %

(a) Percentages are the three-decade averages; (b) percentages are the three-decade average of the total.

(1) number of people not institutions among the constituent land-owning parties in the clergy category.

Table v.ii: Geographical Provenance, Landlords (1540 to 1569)

	Zadar ¹	Suburbs ²	Astarea ³	Islands ⁴	Nin ⁵	Novigrad ⁶	rest, n/a ⁷
1540s	29	1	—	—	—	—	3
1550s	56	2	—	—	6	—	6
1560s	94	—	1	2	4	1	5
	179	3	1	2	10	1	14
% ^a	79.2 %	1.3 %	0.4 %	0.9 %	4.4 %	0.4 %	6.2 %

	Levant ⁸	Venice ⁹	Albania ¹⁰	Dalmatia ¹¹	Istria ¹²	Croatia ¹³
1540s	—	—	—	—	—	1
1550s	—	1	1	2	1	—
1560s	1	2	1	1	2	3
	1	3	2	3	3	4
% ^a	0.4 %	1.3 %	0.9 %	1.3 %	1.3 %	1.8 %

(a) Percentages are the three-decade averages.

(1) Zadar/Zara (Jadra) proper.

(2) Zadar's suburban settlements.

(3) territory of the medieval district, including the suburban settlements, the following toponym appears in the sources: Lazareto/Lazzaretto (lazarettum).

(4) islands subject to Zadar's jurisdiction, the following toponyms appear in the sources: Sutomiščica/Sant'Eufemia (Sancte Euphemie) and Ugljan/Ugliano (Ugliano), both situated on the eponymous island.

(5) territory subject to Zadar's jurisdiction but organised in the district of Nin/Nona (Nona), the following toponyms appear in the sources: Černise (*Cernise*) and Nin/Nona (Nona).

(6) territory subject to Zadar's jurisdiction but organised in the district of Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado), the following toponym appears in the sources: Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado).

(7) lists the number of unidentified, unnamed, and/or unspecified toponyms.

(8) possession subject to Venice in the Eastern Mediterranean, here referring to Corfu.

(9) Venice proper.

(10) includes the following place in Venetian Albania: Kotor/Cattaro (Catharo).

(11) includes the following places in Venetian Dalmatia: Rab/Arbe (Arbe) and Šibenik/Sebenico (Sibenico).

(12) includes the following places in Istria: Barban/Barbana d'Istria (Barbano), Vodnjan/Dignano (Dignano), and Rijeka/Fiume.

(13) includes the following places in Croatia: Bosiljevo, Dubovac, and (*Zahov Turan*).

Table v.iii: Socio-functional Provenance, Tenants (1540 to 1569)

	nobilitas	clerus	artifices	miles	mercatores	intelligentsia	rest, n/a
1540s	4	4	4	4	10	1	7
1550s	14	4	4	5	9	7	32
1560s	28	11	6	3	17	8	44
	46	19	14	12	36	16	83
% ^a	20.4 %	8.4 %	6.2 %	5.3 %	15.9 %	7.1 %	36.7 %
♀ of these							nob. of these
1540s	—						—
1550s	1						1
1560s	3						6
	4						7
% ^b	1.8 %						3.1 %

(a) Percentages are the three-decade averages; (b) percentages are the three-decade average of the total.

(1) number of people not institutions among the constituent land-owning parties in the clergy category.

Table v.iv: Geographical Provenance, Tenants (1540 to 1569)

	Zadar ¹	Suburbs ²	Astarea ³	Contado ⁴	Islands ⁵	Nin ⁶	Novigrad ⁷
1540s	22	2	—	—	3	2	—
1550s	48	—	6	9	—	2	3
1560s	77	1	—	20	2	4	4
	147	3	6	29	5	8	7
% ^a	65 %	1.3 %	2.7 %	12.8 %	2.2 %	3.5 %	3.1 %

	Vrana ⁸	Dalmatia ⁹	rest, n/a ¹⁰
1540s	—	—	5
1550s	1	—	6
1560s	—	1	8
	1	1	19
% ^a	0.4 %	0.4 %	8.4 %

(a) Percentages are the three-decade averages.

(1) Zadar/Zara (Jadra) proper.

(2) Zadar's suburban settlements.

(3) territory of the medieval district, the following toponym appears in the sources: Diklo/Diclo (Diclo).

(4) territory subject to Zadar on the mainland, excluding the districts of Ljubač/Gliuba (Gliube), Nin/Nona (Nona), and Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado), including: Brda/Berdo (Berda), Briševo/Brissevo (Briseuo), Grobnica/Grommizza (Gromniza), Grusi/Grue (Grusi), Jelsa/Gelsa (Jelsa), Kamenjani (Chamegnane), Koto-paščina (Cottopaschina), Plernić (*Plernich*), Podi/Podi (Podi), Polišane/Polissane (Polisane), Račice/Racice (Racice), Smoković/Smòcovich (Smochovich), Strupnić (Strupnich), Tršci (Tersci), Veterinichi/Veterinici (Veterinichi), Visočane/Visozzane (Visozane), and Zemunik/Zemonico (Zemonico).

(5) islands subject to Zadar's jurisdiction, the following toponyms appear in the sources: Dugi Otok/Isola Grossa, Lunga, Iž/Eso (Eso, Exo), Lukoran/Lucorano (Lucorano) Sali/Sale (Sale), and Ugljan/Ugliano (Ugliano).

(6) territory subject to Zadar's jurisdiction but organised in the district of Nin, the following toponyms appear in the sources: Čerinci (Cerinci) and Nin/Nona (Nona).

(7) territory subject to Zadar's jurisdiction but organised in the district of Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado), the following toponym appears in the sources: Blačane (*Blachiane*), Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado), Slivnica/Slivnizza (Sliuniza), and Trščane (Terschiane).

(8) territory subject to the minor district of Vrana/Aurana (Vrana), located near Tinj/Tino (Tinj).

(9) includes the following place in Venetian Dalmatia: Pag/Pago (Pago).

(10) lists the number of unidentified, unnamed, and/or unspecified toponyms.

Table v.v: Transferred Property, Overview (1540 to 1569)

	no. of contracts ¹	ø term of lease ²	total/ducats ³	ø lease/ducats ⁴
1540s	34	6.9 years	1,825.2	7.8
1550s	75	4.1 years	8,473.5	27.8
1560s	117	5.3 years	10,698.4	17.2
	226 ^a	ø = 5.4 years ^b	20,997.1 ^a	ø 17.6 ducats ^b

(a) gives the three-decade total; (b) gives the three-decade averages.

(1) total number of notarial instruments.

(2) average terms of lease for the three decades, calculated on the basis of the terms expressed in the documents; some liberties had to be taken, especially in cases in which no amount of months of years was given: 1 winter was assumed to be 1 year = 12 months, only seven out of the 226 instruments did not provide any duration of the rent (1 out of 34 in the 1540s, 2 out of 75 in the 1550s, and 4 out of 117 in the 1560s).

(3) total price in ducats (1 ducat = 6 libras 4 solidi).

Table v.vi: Rented Property, Details and Turnover (1540 to 1569)

	Contado ¹	total/ducats ^a	aveage/ducats ^b	Islands ²	total/ducats ^a	aveage/ducats ^b
1540s	4	223.7	55.9	15	1,179.6	78.6
1550s	23	941.4	40.9	7	549	78.4
1560s	43	2,347.4	54.6	17	1,331.4	78.3
	70	3,512.5	ø = 50.2 ducats	39	3,060	ø = 78.5 ducats

	Astarea ³	total/ducats ^a	aveage/ducats ^b	Novigrad ⁴	total/ducats ^a	aveage/ducats ^b
1540s	4	56.6	14.2	2	40	20
1550s	9	353	39.2	5	372.1	74.4
1560s	20	1,360.4	68	9	734.1	81.6
	33	1,770	ø = 53.6 ducats	16	1,146.2	ø = 71.6 ducats

	Suburbs ⁵	Vrana ⁶	Nin ⁷	Dalmatia ⁸	rest, n/a ⁹
1540s	2	–	1	–	6
1550s	–	1	4	–	26
1560s	–	1	4	3	20
	2	2	9	3	52

	rest, n/a ⁹	total/ducats ^a	aveage/ducats ^b	all contracts ¹⁰	total/ducats ^a	aveage/ducats ^b
1540s	6	306.5	51.1	34	1,825.2	53.7
1550s	26	1,083.8	41.7	75	8,473.5	113
1560s	20	1,053.7	52.7	117	10,698.4	91.4
	52	2,444	ø = 47 ducats	226	20,997.1	ø = 86 ducats

(a) total turnover per respective decade in ducats (1 ducat = 6 libras 4 solidi), the bottom line gives the three-decade total; (b) average turnover paid per transaction in the respective decade, the bottom line gives the three-decade average; (ø) ø = three-decade averages.

(1) territory subject to Zadar/Zara (Jadra) on the mainland, excluding the districts of Ljubač/Gliuba (Gliube), Nin/Nona (Nona), and Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado), property was transferred near: Artikovo (Articovo), Baščica (*Baschica*), Blato/Blato (Blato), Brda/Berdo (Berda), Drenovac/Drinovazzo (Drinovazzo), Galovac/Galovazzo (Galovaz), Gladuša/Gladussa (Gladussa), Grusi/Grue (Grusi), Kamenjani (Chamegnani), Miljačka/Migliazza (Migliacza), Murvica/Murvizza (Murvizza), Podi/Podi (Podi), Polišane/Polissane (Polisane), Poričane (Porizane), Račice/Racice (Racice), Skril/Scrile (Scrile), Smoković/Smòcovich (Smochovich), Starovci (*Starovzzi*), Strupnić (*Strupnich*), Tršci (Tersci), Veterinići/Veterinici (Veterinichi), Visočane/Visozzane (Visozane), Zlovšane (*Slouhsane*).

(2) islands subject to Zadar's jurisdiction but off the coast, property transferred was in the vicinity of the following places: Banj/Bagno di Pasmanno (Bagno), Brbinj/Berbigno (Bebigne), Dragove/San Leonardo, Villa Dra-

- gova, or Porto Dragòn (Dragoua), Dugi Otok/Isola Lunga or Grossa, Iz/Eso (Eso, Exo), Kukljica/Camera, Cucchizza, or Cuclizza (Chuchgliza), Lukoran/Lucorano (Lucorano), Nevidane/Neviane or Novigliano (Neviane), Pašman/Pasmano (Pasmano), Preko/Oltre (Oltre), Punta Pašman/Punta Pasmano (Puncta di Pasmano), Rat Veli/Punte Bianche (Punta Bianca), Sale/Sali (Sale), Sutomišćica/Sant'Eufemia (Sancte Euphemie), and Ugljan/Ugliano (Ugliano).
- (3) territory of the medieval district, including the suburban settlements, property transferred was in the vicinity of the following places: Babindub/Santa Maria della Rovere (Sancte Marie de Rovere), Bibinje/Bibigne (Bibigne), Bili Brig/Belvedere (Belvederium), Bokanjac/Boccagnazzo (Bocagnazzo), Crno/Cerno (Cerno), Diklo/Diclo (Diclo), Gaženica/Porto Nuovo (Gasenica), Grgomičić (Gerguriza), Kolovare/Colovare (Colovare), Kopranj (Copragl), Višnjik/San Giovanni (ad Sanctum Joannem), and Voštarnica/Ceraria–Barcagno (ultra barchaneum).
- (4) territory of the district of Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado), property was transferred near: Blačane (*Blachiane*), Blato (*Blato*), (*Bukovci*), Rupalj, Koruplje (Corpuaglie), (*Novoselci*), Radovin (Radohovo), (*Radokovoselo*), Režane/Reggiane (Regiane), Slivnica/Slivnizza (Sliuniza), (*Trnovo*), and Trščane (Terschiane).
- (5) Zadar's suburban settlements.
- (6) territory of the district of Vrana/Aurana (Vrana), property was transferred near Tinj/Tino (Tinj).
- (7) territory of the district of Nin/Nona (Nona) excluding the minor district of Ljubač/Gliuba (Gliube), property was transferred near: Čerinci (*Cerinci*), Černise (Cernise), Grbe (Garbe), and Nin/Nona (Nona).
- (8) includes the following place in Venetian Dalmatia: Pag/Pago (Pago).
- (9) lists the number of unidentified, unnamed, and/or unspecified toponyms.
- (10) lists the number of individual locations per decade and provides an overview of the total turnover (in ducats, cf. above), the average turnover per transaction in each of the three decades, and the three-decade average turnover.

Table v.vii: Locations of Stipulation (1540 to 1569)

	platea ¹	apotheca ²	domus ³	cancellaria ⁴	ecclesia ⁵	et al. ⁶
1540s	8	4	9	4	4	5
1550s	17	12	21	5	12	8
1560s	21	14	28	22	11	21
	46	30	58	31	27	34
	20.4 % ^a	13.3 % ^a	25.7 % ^a	13.7 % ^a	11.9 % ^a	15 % ^a

(a) Percentages are the three-decade averages.

- (1) lists the number of notarial instruments written in the various public spaces of Zadar (main square, the loggia, the jurist's bench, minor squares, etc.).
- (2) lists the number of notarial instruments stipulated one of the businessmen's retail/storage facilities, i.e. semi-public space.
- (3) lists the number notarial instruments stipulated in private houses of a public official, i.e. semi-public space.
- (4) lists the number of notarial instruments stipulated in one of the city's chancellories (communal, criminal, or ducal) while the chancellor was not acting on behalf of either entity, i.e. in public space used for private purposes.
- (5) lists the number of notarial instruments stipulated in one of the city's churches, at their doorsteps, or in one of the city's convents.
- (6) lists the number of notarial instruments stipulated elsewhere in or outside the city.

Housing market data (Zadar proper)

In general, the subsequent tables relative to the renting market analysis are based upon the following sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JM (1545–1569), JMM (1540–1554), NC (1558–1567), ND (1540–1566), PB (1540–1569), PS (1545–1551), SB (1556–1565), SM (1555–1567). In all, 255 individual contracts were analysed.

Table vi: Overview (1540 to 1569)

	no. of acts ¹	% of total ²	Latin ³	'Italian' ⁴	♀ sellers ⁶	♀ buyers ⁷
1540s	81	31.8 %	81	—	19	14
1550s	71	27.8 %	71	—	16	15
1560s	103	40.4 %	100	3	21	19
	255	100 %	252	3	56	48
			98.8 % ^a	1.2 % ^a	22 % ^b	18.8 % ^b

(a) Percentages are the three-decade averages; (b) percentages are the three-decade average of the total.

(1) total number of notarial instruments.

(2) share of each decade of total.

(3) number of instruments in Latin.

(4) number of instruments in the Venetian variant of Italian.

(5) number of female sellers (counted were only those instances in which women alone stipulated).

(6) number of female buyers (counted were only those instances in which women alone stipulated).

Table vi.i: Socio-functional Provenance, Vending Parties (1540 to 1569)

	nobilitas	clerus	artifices	mercatores	intelligentsia	miles	rest, n/a
1540s	12	14	12	5		1	37
1550s	6	7	17	3	2	3	33
1560s	16	7	23	4	5	5	43
	34	28	52	12	7	9	113
% ^a	13.3 %	11 %	20.4 %	4.7 %	2.7 %	3.5 %	44.3 %

	♀ of these	nob. of these	♀ of these	nob. of these	♀ of these
1540s	1	1	5	1	12
1550s	1	—	4	1	11
1560s	5	1	3	—	8
	7	2	12	9	31
% ^b	2.7 %	0.8 %	4.7 %	3.5 %	12.2 %

(a) Percentages are the three-decade averages; (b) percentages are the three-decade average of the total.

Table vi.ii: Geographical provenance of the sellers (1540 to 1569)

	Zadar ¹	Suburbs ²	Astarea ³	Contado ⁴	Islands ⁵	Nin ⁶	Novigrad ⁷
1540s	57	1	4	3	2	2	—
1550s	48	2	3	8	2	2	1
1560s	87	2	2	2	1	1	—
	192	5	9	13	5	5	1
% ^a	75.3 %	1.9 %	3.5 %	5.1 %	1.9 %	1.9 %	0.4 %

	Dalmatia ⁸	Istria ⁹	Italy ¹⁰	Venice ¹¹	rest, n/a ¹²
1540s	—	2	2	—	8
1550s	—	—	1	—	4
1560s	1	—	—	3	4
	1	2	3	3	16
% ^a	0.4 %	0.8 %	1.2 %	1.2 %	6.3 %

(a) Percentages are the three-decade averages.

(1) Zadar/Zara (Jadra) proper.

(2) Zadar's suburban settlements.

- (3) territory of the medieval district, excluding the suburban settlements, the following toponym appears in the sources: Bokanjac/Boccagnazzo (Bocagnazzo), (*Bubgnane*), Crno/Cerno (Cerno), Diklo/Diclo (Diclo), and Kopranj (Copragl).
- (4) territory subject to Zadar on the mainland, excluding the districts of Ljubač/Gliuba (Gliube), Nin/Nona (Nona), and Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado), the following toponyms appear in the sources: Prljana (*Per-gliane*), Petrčane//Porto Schiavina (Peterzane), Poškaljine (Poscaglina), Račice/Racice (Racice), (*Stomori-noselo*), Sukošan/Porto d'Oro, San Cassiano (Sancti Cassiani), Sv Filip i Jakov/Santi Filippo e Giacomo (Sancti Filippi et Jacobi), Tršći (Tersci), and Zemunik/Zemonico (Zemonico).
- (5) islands subject to Zadar's jurisdiction, the following toponyms appear in the sources: Banj/Bagno di Pasmano (Bagno), Pašman/Pasmano (Pasmano), and Rat Veli/Punte Bianche (Punta Bianca).
- (6) territory subject to Zadar's jurisdiction but organised in the district of Nin/Nona (Nona), the following toponyms appear in the sources: Nin/Nona (Nona) and Podvršje, Vrši/Verchè (Podverie).
- (7) territory subject to Zadar's jurisdiction but organised in the district of Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado), the following toponym appears in the sources: Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado).
- (8) includes the following place in Venetian Dalmatia: Šibenik/Sebenico (Sibenico).
- (9) includes the following places in Istria: (*Castagna*) and Koper/Capodistria (Justinopolis).
- (10) includes the following places in Italy excluding the Venetian dominions: Ancona, Cortabio, and Recanati.
- (11) Venice proper.
- (12) lists the number of unidentified, unnamed, and/or unspecified toponyms.

Table vi.iii: Socio-functional Provenance, Buyers (1540 to 1569)

	nobilitas	clerus	artifices	miles	mercatores	intelligentsia	rest, n/a
1540s	3	4	14	7	11		42
1550s	3	6	9	5	3	5	40
1560s	6	12	19	4	6	7	49
	12	22	42	16	20	12	131
% ^a	4.7 %	8.6 %	16.5 %	6.3 %	7.8 %	4.7 %	51.4 %
	♀ of these		♀ of these			nob. of these	♀ of these
1540s	–		1			–	12
1550s	–		1			1	11
1560s	1		–			2	8
	1		2			3	31
% ^b	0.4 %		0.8 %			1.2 %	12.2 %

(a) Percentages are the three-decade averages; (b) percentages are the three-decade average of the total.

Table vi.iv: Geographical provenance of the buyers (1540 to 1569)

	Zadar ¹	Suburbs ²	Astarea ³	Contado ⁴	Islands ⁵	Nin ⁶	Novigrad ⁷
1540s	56	8	5	1	–	–	1
1550s	50	3	4	1	1	1	–
1560s	74	9	4	6	–	3	–
	180	20	13	8	1	4	1
% ^a	70.6 %	7.8 %	5.1 %	3.1 %	0.4 %	1.6 %	0.4 %

	Dalmatia ⁸	Venice ⁹	rest, n/a ¹⁰
1540s	2	1	7
1550s	–	–	11
1560s	1	–	6
	3	1	24
% ^a	1.2 %	0.4 %	9.4 %

(a) Percentages are the three-decade averages.

(1) Zadar/Zara (Jadra) proper.

(2) Zadar's suburban settlements.

(3) territory of the medieval district, excluding the suburban settlements, the following toponym appears in the sources: Bibinje/Bibigne (Bibigne), Bokanjac/Bocagnazzo (Bocagnazzo), Crno/Cerno (Cerno), Diklo/Diclo (Diclo), Gaženica/Porto Nuovo (Gasenica), and Puntamika/Punt'Amica (Puntamica).

(4) territory subject to Zadar on the mainland, excluding the districts of Ljubač/Gliuba (Gliube), Nin/Nona (Nona), and Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado), the following toponyms appear in the sources: Miljačka/Migliazza (Migliacza), Petrčane//Porto Schiavina (Peterzane), Rogovo/Rogovo (Rogovo), and Tršći (Tersci).

(5) islands subject to Zadar's jurisdiction, the following toponym appears in the sources: Sutomiščica/Sant'Eufemia (Sancte Euphemie).

(6) territory subject to Zadar's jurisdiction but organised in the district of Nin/Nona (Nona), the following toponym appears in the sources: Nin/Nona (Nona).

(7) territory subject to Zadar's jurisdiction but organised in the district of Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado), the following toponym appears in the sources: Novigrad/Novegradi (Novigrado).

(8) includes the following place in Venetian Dalmatia: Split/Spalato (Spalato) and Šibenik/Sebenico (Sibenico).

(9) Venice proper.

(10) lists the number of unidentified, unnamed, and/or unspecified toponyms.

Table vi.v: Turnover, Overview (1540 to 1569)

	no. of contracts ¹	% of total ²	total/ducats ³	ø ducats/trans. ⁴
1540s	81	31.8	2,840.3	35.1
1550s	71	27.8	3,286.5	46.3
1560s	103	40.4	6,544.1	63.5
	255	100 %	12,670.9 ^a	ø = 48.3 ^b

(a) three-decade total turnover; (b) three-decade average turnover.

(1) total number of notarial instruments.

(2) share of each decade of total.

(3) total turnover per decade in ducats (1 ducat = 6 libras 4 solidi).

(4) average turnover per decade in ducats.

Table vi.vi: Exemplary Turnover, Details (1540 to 1569)

	St 40 ¹	turnover ^a	fabrorum ²	turnover ^a	St Grisog. ²	turnover ^a	St Viti ⁴	turnover ^a
1540s	4	169.9	15	310.5	3	108.9	7	331.5
1550s	4	118.1	11	783	9	357.3	6	614
1560s	5	409.4	14	367.3	12	884.3	3	207
total no.	13	697.4	40	1,460.8	24	1,350.5	16	1,152.5
% of total	5.1 %	5.5 %	15.7 %	11.5 %	9.4 %	10.7 %	6.3 %	9.1 %

(a) Lists the amounts of transferred ducats for each of the three decades under survey as well as both the total amounts and their relative share of the over-all sales value.

- (1) number of real estate transactions transferring possession of a house, small house, and/or (vacant) building in the parish of the 40 Martyrs (Sv četrdeset mučenika or Sancti Quadringentorum).
- (2) number of real estate transactions transferring possession of a house, small house, and/or (vacant) building lot to another individual, explicitly noting that the property was located in the parish of St John (Sv Ivan kovački or Sancti Joannis fabrorum), local toponyms explicitly referring to this parish, and the blacksmith's furnaces (stomorica or pusterla).
- (3) number of real estate transactions transferring possession of a house, small house, and/or (vacant) building lot to another individual, explicitly noting that the property was located in the parishes of St Chrysogonus (Sv Krševan or Sancti Grisogoni), near its garden, the Benedictine monastery, and/or the parishes of St Thomas/Silvester (Sv Tome/Silvestar or Sancti Thomae sive Silvestri).
- (4) number of real estate transactions transferring possession of a house, small house, and/or (vacant) building lot to another individual, explicitly noting that the property was located in the parish of St Vitus (Sv Vid or Sancti Viti).

Table vi.vii: Locations of stipulation (1540 to 1569)

	platea ¹	apotheca ²	domus ³	cancellaria ⁴	ecclesia ⁵	et al. ⁶
1540s	32	12	18	8	4	7
1550s	16	8	27	14	4	2
1560s	22	15	40	18	5	3
	70	35	85	40	13	12
	27.5 % ^a	13.7 % ^a	33.3 % ^a	15.7 % ^a	5.1 % ^a	4.7 % ^a

(a) Percentages are the three-decade averages.

- (1) lists the number of notarial instruments written in the various public spaces of Zadar (main square, the loggia, the jurist's bench, minor squares, etc.).
- (2) lists the number of notarial instruments stipulated one of the businessmen's retail/storage facilities, i.e. semi-public space.
- (3) lists the number notarial instruments stipulated in private houses of a public official, i.e. semi-public space;
- (4) lists the number of notarial instruments stipulated in one of the city's chancellories (communal, criminal, or ducal) while the chancellor was not acting on behalf of either entity, i.e. in public space used for private purposes.
- (5) lists the number of notarial instruments stipulated in one of the city's churches, at their doorsteps, or in one of the city's convents.
- (6) lists the number of notarial instruments stipulated elsewhere in or outside the city.

List of toponyms in Zadar's jurisdiction

The following list of toponyms within Zadar's jurisdiction lists all those places inhabited around the mid–sixteenth century based upon the analysis of real estate property transactions (emptions, concessionones, and locationes outside the city walls as well as the property transactions within Zadar proper) between 1 January, 1540, and 31 December, 1569.

Sources: DAZd, SZB, notaries AM (1540–1551), CC (1567–1569), DC (1551–1566), FT (1548–1561), GC (1562–1564), HM (1567–1569), JM (1545–1569), JMM (1540–1554), MAS (1544–1548), NC (1558–1567), ND (1540–1566), PB (1540–1569), PS (1545–1551), SB (1556–1565), SM (1555–1567). In all, 2,026 individual contracts were analysed.

Disclaimer: This is no complete list of all toponyms in all 2,026 individual contracts as in some no names and/or specifics are given. The following listing provides an indicative overview of the then–inhabited villages and/or places.

Nota bene: the first row gives the name as it appears in the sources, the second a Croatian transliteration, the third – if known/available – the name in Italian, and the fourth categorises the toponyms in the areas Astarea, Contado, the minor jurisdictions of Ljubač, Nin, Novigrad, and Vrana as well as the inhabited villages on the islands under Zadar's jurisdiction. The names in each of these areas have been ordered alphabetically.

* indicates existence in 1527, † indicates appearance on the Venetian side of the border after the demarcation in 1576, both according to Mayhew, *Contado di Zara*, 311–5, based on the report by Zacharias Vallaresso, dated 10 September, 1527, in Ljubić, *Commissiones*, vol. 1, 219–20, and Anzulović, “Razgraničenj između mletačke i turske vlasti,” 102–8.

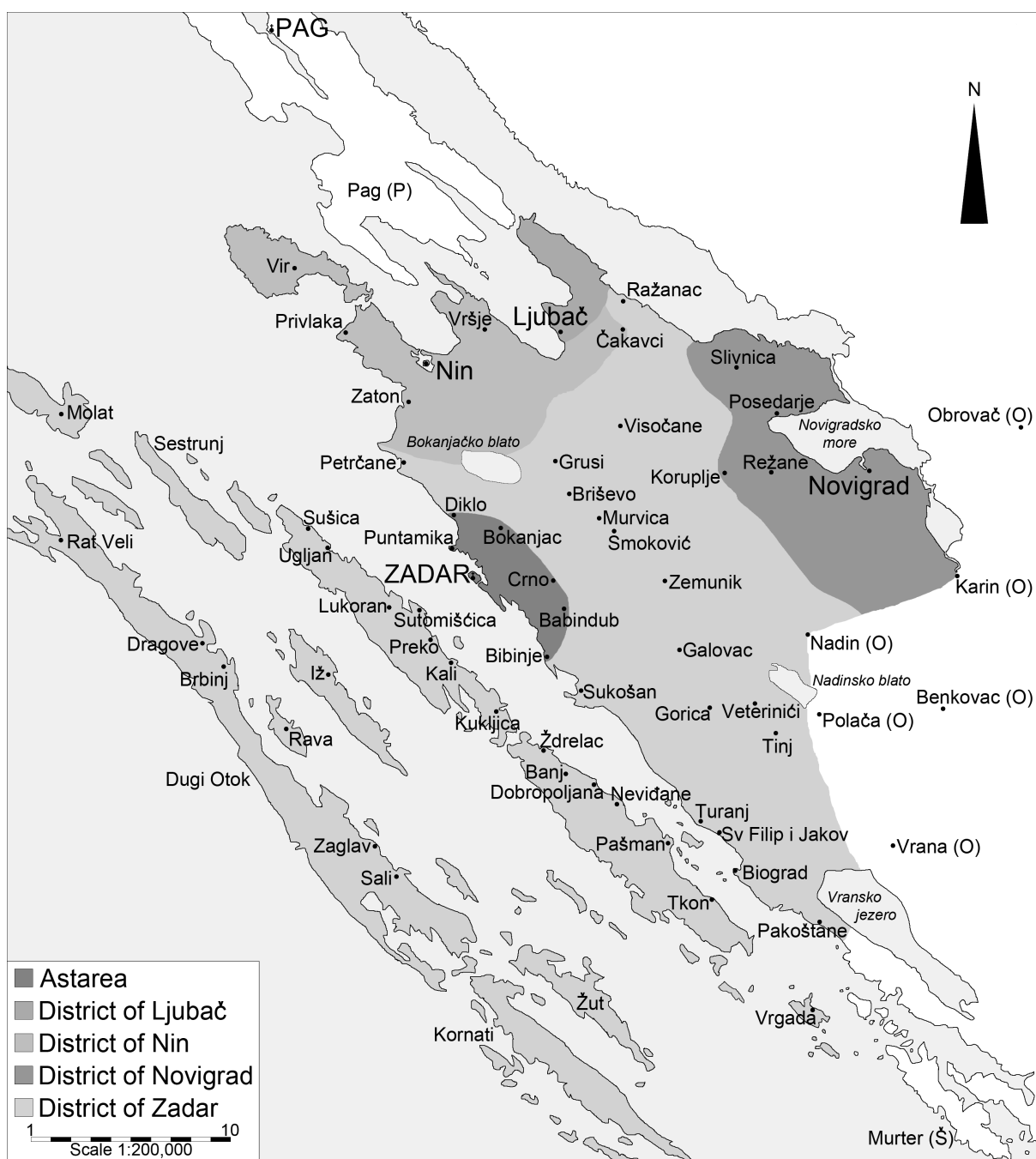
name in sources	Croatian	Italian	area
Bibigne*†	Bibinje	Bibigne (arch. Argimbusi)	Astarea
Boccagnatio†	Bokanjac	Boccagnazzo	Astarea
Bubgnane*	Bubnjane		Astarea
Cerno*†	Crno	Cerno	Astarea
Diclo*	Diklo	Diclo, Dicolo	Astarea
Drassaniza, Draxaniza	Crvene Kuće, Dražanica	Caserosse	Astarea
Drazevaz*†	Dračevac	Malpaga	Astarea
Galovaz*	Galovac	Galovazzo	Astarea
Gasenica*†	Gaženica	Porto Nuovo	Astarea
Gladussa*	Gladuša	Gladussa	Astarea
Colovare	Kolovare	Colovare, Borgo Èrizzo	Astarea
Chopragl, Copragl*†	Kopranc		Astarea
Lazaretto	Lazareto		Astarea
Punta Amica*	Puntamika	Puntamica, Punt'Amica	Astarea
ultra barchaneum	Brodarica	Barcagno	Astarea
Articovo*	Artikovo	Articovo	Contado
Zaretum vetus, civitas vetera*	Biograd na moru	Zaravecchia	Contado
Blato*†	Blato		Contado
Brda, Brdo*†	Brda	Berda	Contado
Briseve	Briševo	Brisevo	Contado
Cernogerschina*	Crnogoriščina		Contado
Goriza*	Gorica	Goriza	Contado
Gromniza*†	Grobnica	Grommizza	Contado

name in sources (cont.)	Croatian	Italian	area
Grusi†	Grusi	Grue	Contado
Jelsa	Jelsa	Gelsa	Contado
Chamegnane†	Kamenjani		Contado
Cotopanschina*	Kotopaščina		Contado
Cosinoselo*	Kožino	Càproli, Còsino	Contado
Migliacza*	Miljačka	Migliazza	Contado
Mocro*†	Mokro	Mocro	Contado
Murviza*	Murvica	Murvizza	Contado
Opatizaselo*†	Opačeselo		Contado
Pergliane*†	Prljane		Contado
Peterzane*	Petřčane	Peterzane, Porto Schianive	Contado
Plernich	Plernić		Contado
Podi	Podi	Podi	Contado
Polissane*	Polišane	Polisane	Contado
Porizane*†	Poričane		Contado
Poscaglina*†	Poškaljine		Contado
Racice*	Račice	Racice	Contado
Rasanze*†	Ražanac	Rassanzze	Contado
Rogovo*	Rogovo	Rogovo	Contado
Smocovich*	Smoković	Smòcovich	Contado
Starossane*	Starošani		Contado
Stomorino Selo*	Stomorinoselo		Contado
Strupnich	Strupnić		Contado
Suovare*	Suhovare	Suovare	Contado
Sancti Cassiani, San Cassiano*†	Sukošan	San Cassiano	Contado
Sancti Philippi et Jacobi	Sv Filip i Jakov	Santi Filippo e Giacomo	Contado
Sancti Petri prope civitatem veterem	Sv Petar na moru	San Pietro	Contado
Tersci	Tršći		Contado
Turretta, Turretta*†	Turanj	Torretta, Turretta	Contado
Varicassane*†	Varikašani		Contado
Veternichi*	Veterinići		Contado
Visocane*	Visočane		Contado
Xanice	(?)		Contado
Zemonico, Zumonico*	Zemunik	Zemonico	Contado
Gliuba*	Ljubač	Gliuba	Ljubač
Puncta Gliube	Punta Ljubač	Punta Gliuba	Ljubač
Ambrosichiaselo†	Ambrozeselo		Nin
Bevilaqua, Brevilacqua	Privlaka	Brevilacqua	Nin
Brischiana dictionis Nonae†	Brišane		Nin
Chiacavci*	Čakavci		Nin
Cerinci	Čerinci		Nin
Chernise	Černise		Nin
Chupari	Čupari		Nin
Chraschia, Chrasia*	Hraščija, Hraščane		Nin
Nona	Nin	Nona	Nin

name in sources (cont.)	Croatian	Italian	area
Podverie, Podversie	Podvršje, Vršje	Verchè	Nin
Puncta Dura	Vir	Puntadura	Nin
Saton, Zaton	Zaton	Zaton	Nin
Blachiane†	Blačani	Novegradi	Novigrad
Cassich	Kašić	Casscich	Novigrad
Corpuaglie*	Koruplje		Novigrad
Novigrad*	Novigrad	Novegradi	Novigrad
Plernichi	Plernić		Novigrad
Posedaria*†	Posedarje	Possedaria	Novigrad
Reiane	Režane		Novigrad
Sliuniza†	Slivnica	Slivnizza	Novigrad
Terschiane*	Trščane		Novigrad
Zauod, Zavod*	Zavod		Novigrad
Aureana*	Vrana	Aurana	Vrana
Pachoschiane†	Pakoštane	Porto Schiavine, Poschiane	Vrana
Tino	Tinj	Tino	Vrana
Bagno	Banj	Bagno di Pasmano	Islands
Berbigne	Brbinj	Berbigno, Brebigno	Islands
Calle, Callo	Kali	Mul, Cale, Cal	Islands
Dobropogliana	Dobropoljana	Dobropogliana	Islands
Cuchgliza	Kukljica	Camera, Cuclizza	Islands
Lucorano	Lukoran	Lucorano	Islands
Melada	Molat	Melada	Islands
Neviane	Nevidane	Neviane, Novigliano	Islands
Pasmano	Pašman	Pasmano	Islands
Oltre	Preko	Oltre	Islands
Puncta Pasmano	Punta Pašman	Punta Pasmano	Islands
Punta Bianca	Beli Rat, Rat Veli	Punte Bianche	Islands
Rava	Rava	Rava	Islands
Sale	Sali	Sale	Islands
Sauri	Savar	Sauro	Islands
Selva	Silba	Selva, Selve	Islands
Sancta Euphemia	Sutomišćica	Sant'Eufemia	Islands
Sdrelaz	Ždrelac	Sdrela, Stagno di Pasmano	Islands
Tcono	Tkon	Tucconio, Ticconio, Cotunno	Islands
Ugliano	Ugljan	Ugliano	Islands
Vergada	Vrgada	Vergada	Islands
Zaglava	Zaglav	Zaglava	Islands

Tea Mayhew contrasts a list of the 83 villages existing according to the report by Zacharias Vallaresso in 1527 with a list of those 54 villages appearing in 1576 after the redrawing of the borders. The table above lists 84 villages for the mid-16th century, however, it must be stressed that both other numbers are tied to one year only while the data above covers thirty years. The main changes occurred during the Cyprus War and in its wake.

Maps

Zadar's jurisdiction

Map 1: Zadar's jurisdiction (scale: 1:200,000, map design by Stephan Karl Sander), showing the names and approximate locations of a number of the towns and villages outside the city walls. Not on the map but also under Jadertine jurisdiction were also the islands of Olib, Premuda, and Silba (or the Italian toponyms cf. the list provided above cf. above).

(O) indicates towns belonging to the Ottoman Empire after the conclusion of the war of 1537/41; (P) indicates the jurisdiction of Pag (Pago), in the 16th century a jurisdiction of its own; (Š) indicates that the island of Murter (Morter) belonged to the jurisdiction of Šibenik; cities are indicated by their Croatian name and an accompanying dot, field names are in *Italics*.

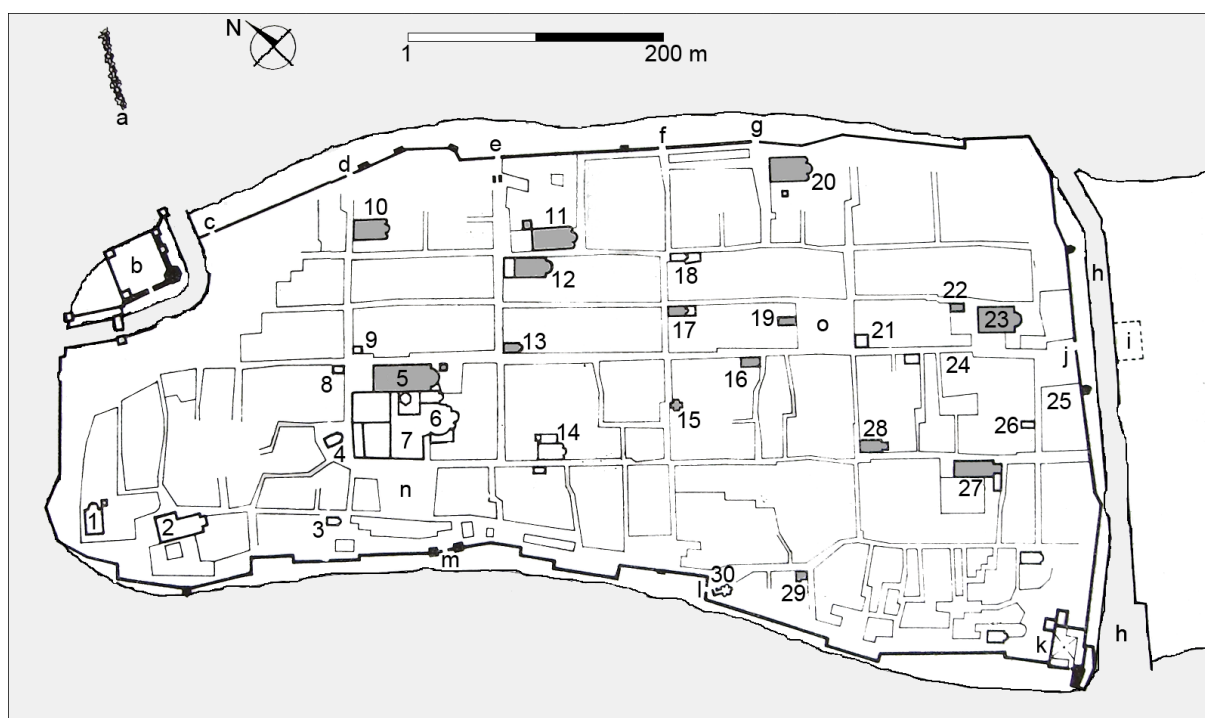
Zadar's Astorea



Map 2: Zadar's medieval ager publicus (scale: 1:75,000, map design by Stephan Karl Sander), showing the names and approximate locations of a number of the towns and villages outside the city walls. The darker shaded area indicates the approximate extension of Zadar's medieval ager publicus or Astorea.

Villages are indicated by their Croatian name and an accompanying dot, field names are in *Italics* (for the Italian toponyms and field names cf. the list provided above).

Zadar's inner city



Map 3: Zadar's inner city in the 15th and early 16th centuries, based on Raukar et al., *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 135.

Shaded areas (not visible in the original) indicate those parish churches in whose parishes the nobility dwelled; * indicates the parishes in which nobles dwelled; English translations are provided, the original terms are in brackets).

(a) wave breaker (lukobran); (b) harbour fortress (kaštel); (c) chain gate (lančana vrata); (d) St Demetrius gate (vrata sv. Dimitrija); (e) St Chrysogonus gate (vrata sv Krševana); (f) butcher's gate (vrata klaonice); (g) St Mary's or Simeon's or Arsenal gate (vrata Sv. Marije ili Šimuna ili Arsenala); (h) moat (obrambeni kanal); (i) ravelin (revelin); (j) land gate or Porta Terraferma (kopnena vrata); (k) citadel (citadella); (l) blacksmiths' furnaces (pusterla); (m) Angel's gate (Anđelova vrata); (n) campo (kampa); (o) main square (glavni trg);

1. St Nicholas (sv Nikola); 2. St Francis monastery (sv frane); 3. St George (sv Juraj); 4. St Elijah (sv Ilija); 5. cathedral of St Anastasia (katedrala)*; 6. St Donat or Holy Trinity (sv Donat ili Trojstvo); 7. archbishopric palace (nadbiskupova palača); 8. hospital of St James (hospicij sv Jakova); hospital of St Mark (hospicij sv Marka); 10. St Demetrius (sv Dimitrije)*; 11. St Chrysogonus (sv Krševan)*; 12. St Thomas or Silvester* (sv Petar ili Silvestar); 13. Church of the Forty Martyrs (četrdeset mučenika)*; 14. St Mary monastery (sv Marija beneditinki); 15. St Vitus (sv Vid)*; 16. St Catherine (sv Katarina)*; 17. St Salvator (sv Spasitelj)*; 18. St Peter the Old (sv Petar stari); 19. St Lawrence (sv Lovre)*; 20. St Mary of the Priests or Arsenatus (sv Marija velika ili Arsenala)*; 21. communal loggia (Gradska loža); 22. St Rochus (sv Rok)*; 23. St Stephen or Simeon (sv Stjepan ili Šimuna)*; 24. ducal palace (kneževa palača); 25. captain's palace (kapetanova palača); 26. St Mary 'de bon gaudio' (sv Marija 'boni gaudii'); 27. St Dominic (sv Domink)*; 28 St Michael (sv Mihovil)*; (29) St John's or blacksmith's parish (sv Ivan kovački)*; (30) blacksmith's furnaces (Stomorica, Pusterla).

Exemplary Transcripts of Sources

Procura

Johannes de Garzonibus, former count of Trogir (Traù), appoints Johannes Mazzarellus to collect the outstanding sum of 90 ducats from ser Francisco Patini Brixienis (cf. FT I, 1, 1, f1r; stipulated on 2 October, 1548).

In Christi nomine amen, Anno ab eius Nativitate Millesimo quingentesimo quadragésimo octavo, Indictione sexta die vero secundo mensis octobris, Temporibus serenissimi Principis et domini excellentissimi Domini Francisci Donato, Dei gratia venetiarum et cetera Ducis Illustrissimi, praetureque clarissimus domini Joannis Dominici Ciconia comitis Jadrae eiusque agri dignissimi, Coram spectabile domino Zoylo de Ferra honorando consiliario dicti celeberrimi domini comitis, Personaliter constitutus clarissimus dominus Joannes de Garzonibus olim comes et capitaneus Tragurij omni meliori modo via Jure causa et forma, quibus melius et efficacius de Juris solemnitate potuit et debuit, potestque et debet, fecit, constituit, creavit et solemniter ordinavit suum verum certum legettimum, et indubitatum procuratorum nuntium et comissum Spetialem, et generalem, ita tam tamquam Spetialitas generalitati non deroget nec e contra videlicet, spectabilem virum dominum Joannem Mazzarellum cancellarium Magnificae comunitatis Jadrae presentem et onus acceptantem ad nomine dicti domini constituentis, et pro eo exigendum et recuperandum a ser Francisco Patini Brixienis⁴ eius debitor ducatos Nonaginta et libras quatuor parvorum pro totidem sibi per dictum celeberrimum dominum comitem, et capitaneum Tragurij mutuatis, ut patet chyrographo confessionis debiti dictarum pecuniarum manu ut idem dominus constituens asservit ipsius ser Franciscus condito in eadem civitate Tragurij⁵ sub die xxviii Junii nuper elapsi, et per me Notarium publicum viso in copia, et de exactis recuperatis quietandum, et faciendum de receptis in forma Juris debita et pro premissis et cetera, cum plena libera et omnimoda facultate potestate et mandato et ad substituendum unum vel plureis procuratorum Seu procuratores cum cimili auf limitata potestate et mandato, Promittens se ratum gratum atque firmum perpetuo habiturum totum id et quicquid per dictum procuratorem suum et substituendum ab eo actum, dictum, gestum, factum vel procuratum fuerit in premissis sub obligatione omnium suorum bonorum mobilium et Immobilium presentium et futurorum,

Actum Jadrae in sala Palatij celeberrimi domini Laurentij Bragadero dignissimi capitanei Jadrae, Presentibus eccellente artium et medicinae doctore domino Federico Zeno medico physico sallariato sive stipendiato Jadrae, et domino Francisco de Muttina cive Testibus habitis vocatis, et rogatis;

Ego Franciscus Thomaseus Jadertinus publicus Apostolica et Imperiali Autoritatibus Notarius Juratus Jadrae, supradictis rogatus interfui eaque fideliter scripsi et in hanc publicam formam redegi ac in robur me subscripsi, signumque mei tabellionatus solitum pariter et consuetum apposui;

⁴ Brixen (Bressanone).

⁵ Trogir (Traù).

Emptio

Martinus Liscich quondam Jacobi de insula Dobrapogliana sells 15 gonjaj of his fields in the vicinity of Dobropoljana to Zoylo de Ferra nobili Jadrensis (cf. DC I, 1, 1, f1v/f2r, stipulated on 6 April, 1551).

MDLI, Indictio viiij, die vj mensis Aprtilis

Temporibus ut ante, Coram viro Nobile Jadrensis domino Michaelae Rosa honorando Iudice examinatore Curiae Jadrae personaliter constitutus Martinus Liscich quondam Jacobi de insula Dobrapogliana disctrictus Iadrae per se suosque heredes et Successores iure proprio in perpetuum Dedit, vendidit, Tradidit, et alienavit spectabili domino Zoylo Ferra Nobili Jadrensis presenti et pro se suisque heredibus et Successoribus ementi et aquirenti Gognalia quindecim vel circa Terreni aratorij iam annis octo vel decem ut dictus venditor asservit non laboratis neque cultivatis cum omnibus alijs Terris deris et incultis Ipsi venditori quocumque et qualitercumque spectantis, et pertinentis posita in dicta Insula loco vocato Liscichia Dragan⁶ Infra hos ut dixerunt confines, videlicet, a siroco iura abbatae Sancti Chrysogoni de Jadra, a traversa quedam Terrena sic vocata Cerbichia Tuz, a borea dictus dominus Zoylus, a quirina Nemus dictae insulae salvis semper verioribus confinibus, Ad habendum, Tenendum, gaudendum, possidendum, et usufructandum, et quicquid Ipsi domini emptori suisque heredes et Successores deinceps perpetuo placiunt faciendum cum omnibus et Singulis Juribus, actionibus habentijs et pertinentijs, Ipsi rei vendita quovis modo spectantia et pertinentia tam de iure tamquam de consuetudine, et hoc pro pretio et nomine veri et certi pretij librarum centum parvorum ad quarum computum dictus venditor confessus fuit et manifestavit habuisse et cum effectu recepisse a dicto domino emptore libras octuaginta octo parvorum in tanto vino et pecunia numerata, exceptioni sibi non datarum, et non receptarum dicti vini et denariorum pro amontare dicti librarum 88 speique futurae habitis ac omni alij Juris et leges auxilio omnino renuntians, Reliquum vero ad complementum dictarum librarum centum Idem dominus Zoylus in presentia dicti spectabili domini examinitoris meique notarii et Testium infrascriptorum dedit et numeravit eidem venditori libras duodecim parvorum, Promittens dictus venditor per se et Suos heredes dicto emptori pro Se et Suis heredibus stipulanti litem vel controversiam ei vel Suis heredibus de dicta re seu parte Ipsius aliquo tempore non inferre, nec inferenti consentire Sed Ipsam rem venditam ei et Suis heredibus ab omni homine, communi, collegio, et universitate legitime deffendere, auctorizare et desbrigare, et preedictam venditionem, et omnia et Singula suprascripta perpetuo firma, rata, et grata habere, tenere, et non contrafacere vel venire per se vel alium aliqua ratione vel causa de iure vel de facto, sub poena quarti in statutj Iadrae contenta, et obligatione omnium Suorum bonorum mobilium et stabilium presentium et futurorum;

Actum Jadrae in cancellaria pretoria, presentibus Magistro Phyllippo Mamessich sutore, et Vincentio Ghergureuich preorne Testibus, vocatis, et rogatis;

Ego Michael Rosa Iudex examinador Curia Jadre me subscripsi;

⁶ Near the village of Dragove (San Leonardo, Villa Dragova, or Porto Dragòn).

Concessio

Simon Tutofich, sacristan of the church of St Mary of the Priests, concedes 4.5 gonjaj of the church's fields in the vicinity of Lukoran to Antonio and Hieronymo Matolcuch for the duration of at least three years (cf. PS I, 1,f23r, stipulated on 11 January, 1551).

Die xi mensis Januarij 1551

Temporibus et Praetura et cetera, coram Viro Nobile Jadrensis domino Mariano de Soppe quondam domini Simonis honorando Iudice examinatore curiae Jadrae, Personaliter constitutus dominus Simon Tutofich Mansionarius in ecclesia Sancte Mariae Presbyterorum uti procurator, et eo nomine collegij dictorum Presbyterorum Sanctae Mariae, per se et successores dicto nomine dedit, tradidit et ad pastinandum, et plantandum concessit Antonio, et Hieronymo Matolcuch fratribus de Insula Lucorani⁷, Ibidem presentibus conducendum, et acceptandum, pro se et heredibus suis quatuor Gognalia cum dimidio in circa, Terrae aratorie posite loco vocato Bedrischina in dicta Insula Lucorani, videlicet, Antonio prefato unum gognale cum dimidio et Hieronymo prefato tria gognalia in circa Terreni prefati Cum Infrascriptis pactis modis et conditionibus inter ipsas partes concorditer firmatis, videlicet, que prefatus Antonius sozalis dictum unum Gognalem cum dimidio in termino Trium annorum, et Hieronimus dicta sua Tria Gognalia in termino annorum quinquam proxime futurorum, Incipiendum a die presentis celebrationis Instrumenti et sic successiva finiendum, teneantur et obligati sint pastinare, et plantare in Integrum pro rata dictum Terrenum bonis et utilibus vitibus, et vineam plantandum, et pastinandum bene et diligenter laborare seu laborari facere, videlicet, bis in anno Zappare, semel putare suis debitis, et congruis Temporibus et alia facere, prout ordines, et statuta Jadrae disponunt, et sub penis in dictis statutis contentis, et quam primum vites plantandum, et pastinandum et supra ceperint fructare dare, et respondere dicto domino fundi quartum rectum, et Integrum conducendum, et defferendum ad barcam, sumptibus dictorum Sozzalium, Item pacti que si dicti sozzales non plantaverint et quilibet ipsorum non plantaverit in suprascripto Termino in Integrum dictum terrenum, videlicet, quilibet partem Suam suprascripam que ellapso dicto Termino sint obligati, et quilibet ipsorum sit obligatus dare quartum de fundo non plantato, sicut de eo fundo quod erit plantatum, ad extimationem proborum viro- rum a partibus elligendum unum, videlicet, pro parte, Item dictus dominus Simon nomine quo supra in subsidium et adiumentum dictorum Sozzalium et dicte pastinatorum Promiisit dono dare cuilibet eorum libras quinque parvorum pro singulo gognali, Promittentes dicte partes vicissim prefata omnia, et singula attendere, observera, in nulloque contrafacere, dicere vel venire per se vel alios aliqua ratione vel cause de Jure vel de facto sub pena quarti in statutis Jadre contenta et obligatione omnium suorum bonorum, nomine quo supra presentium et futurorum;

Actum Jadre in contrata ante portam domus habitationi dicti domini Iudicis examinitoris, presentibus Simone Bubich, et Gregorio Scogliarich ligonizatoribus Jadrae, Testibus et cetera;

⁷ Lukoran (Lucorano).

Locatio

Marcus Loredan, bishop of Nin and procurator general of Mutio Calino, Zadar's archbishop, leases the income of the latter's see to Joane and Francesco Thomaseo for the duration of three years (cf. SB I, 1, 1, f24r/f24v, stipulated on 8 January, 1557).

pro domino Joanne Thomaseo canonico conductio fructuum Archiepiscopatus Jadrensis

Nel nome di Cristo amen, L'anno dalla Nativita del istesso MDLVij l'Indittion XVa, a di 8 Zenaro: Nel tempo del Serenissimo Principe et Illustrissimo Signor Il signor Lorenzo Priuli per la gratia di Iddio di Venetia et cetera Duce Illustrissimo et della Pretura del celeberrimo meser Antonio Michiel conte di Zara et suo Destretto dignissimo, Inanti il Nobel huomo di Zara Meser Marian di Soppe honorando Giudice esaminatore della corte personalmente costituito il Reverendissimo Monsignor il signor Marco Loredan per la gratia di Dio Vescovo di Nona dignissimo Vicegerente et procurator Generale del Reverendissimo Monsignor signor Mutio Calino per la miseration divina Arcivescovo di Zara dignissimo sicome del mandato di Procura prefato ampiamente consta per pubblico instrumento celebrato in Roma et annotato di mano des discreto huomo meser Desiderio Bonaannona ella corte di cause della Camera apostolica Nodaro de di 13 del mese d'avosto del anno 1556, l'Indittio 14a per me Nodaro infrascritto visto, et letto, con poter tra gl'atre cose in quello contenute di locat, et affitar tutte et qualumque entrate, frutti, redditi, et proventi al Arcivescovato di Zara spettanti, et pertinenti, co'l detto procuratorio nome ha datto, locato, et Concesso ad affitto al Reverendissimo Meser Gioan Thomaseo Canonico di Zara et a Meser Francesco Thomaseo cittadin et Nodaro di Zara fratello del detto Reverendissimo meser Zuanne, li presenti, stipulanti, confirmanti, et in solidum conducenti per anni Tre prossimi che hanno a venire, i qual hanno a cominciare a primo di Maggio prossimo venturo, et cosi sussequentemente ch'hanno a finire, tute et qualumque entrate del ditto Arcivescovato di Zara, et delle sue ville, frutti, redditi et proventi emolumenti Juridittion, feudi, Livelli, fitti, cathedratici, decime, cosi di terra ferma, come dell'Isole della diocesi di Zara, et la decima dell'Isola di Pago⁸ et etiam la decima grande del corpo di questa Città, et ogni, et qualumque altra rason, attion, et giuridittion temporale a qualsi voglia modo spettante, et pertinente, et qual spettar et pertener potesse al ditto Reverendissimo Monsignor signor Mutio Arcivescovo per raggion del detto suo Arcivescovato, quomodocumque et qualitercumque cosi de rason come de consuetudine et con comodità del palazzo Archiepiscopale et ogni altra attion et giuridittion temporale de qual si voglia sorte, non eccetuando ne resservandosi cosa alcuna al ditto Reverendissimo Monsignor Arcivescovo mal il tutto comprendendo nella presente location, Ad haver, tenir, goder, et posseder per il tempo d'anni tre sopra specificati et questo per precio et per nome di pretio, overo fitto, responsion et arrendation de ducati ottocento a rason de lire 6 soldi 4 pro ducato al anno della detta presente location da esser pagati in solidum per li detti conduttori ogni anno in due rathe, overo paghe, prima al primo di Aprile, dal principio della presente location prossimamente venturo ducati quattrocento simil, et il restante che sono altri ducati quattrocento, per tutto'l mese di luio Exinde proximo che viene e cosi de anno in anno alle dui rathe, et termini predetti per il tempo della presente location da esser mandato il detto Danaro de Tempo in tempo a Venetia alle mani de celeberrimo meser Marcantonio Cornaro fratello del Reverendissimo et Illustrissimo signor Il Cardinale Cornaro Il signor Alovise overo a quallo che havessero spetial mandato dal detto Reverendissimo Monsignor Arcivescovo, a spese, risico, et danno delli detti conduttori in

⁸ Pag (Pago).

solidum il qual pagamento essi conduttori siano tenuti, et obligati far come di sopra, si come si obligano in solidum in meliori, et ampliori forma Camera apostolica, Dechiarendo per remover ogni dubità che potesse nascer che li detti conduttori in solidum ut supra habbino et haver debbano tre intrade integre con li sui sgoni in virtu della presente location et affitto; Item il prefato Reverendissimo Monsignor Vescovo et procuratore, per el detto procurato nome come di sopre promette alli detti conduttori presenti, et accettanti in caso del restauro se occoresse in caso di guerra, ò peste, che Dio non voglia, per li qual casi fussero dannificate le dette entrate sino alla terza parte, il qual però danno Li preditti Conduttori in termene d'uno mese doppo che sarà occorso siano tenuti notificar al prefato Reverendissimo Monsignor Arcivescovo overo al prefato signor Marcantonio Cornaro in Venetia overo sia giudicato infra'l detto mese per dui di questa città da esser Eletti per li celeberrimi Rettori di questa città, et in ditto caso esso Reverendissimo Monsignor principale sia tenuto farli restauro, et non in altri casi ne alerimente, con condition tra le dette parti posta et fermata che li detti conduttori fra'l detto Termene d'anni tre della presente location possano, et vagliano liberamente dar, et conceder a pastinar terreni in quantità qual si voglia de raggion de detto Arcivescovato con le solite clausule che in simil Concession servir si soglioo; Item il Detto Reverendissimo Procuratore disse haver Consegnato alli detti conduttori botte numero nove da vino de raggion del ditto Arcivescovato, le qual botte numero nove Li dette conduttori promesseno restituir in fin della ditta locatione per tre anni in buon esser; Le qual tutte et cadaune cose Sopraditte nel presente instrumento Contenute le ditte parte una à l'alatra et l'alatra à l'altra promessero, et convenero attender et inviolabelmento osservar et non contravenir a modo qual si voglia per si o per altri per qual si voglia causa o raggione, de raggion o de fatto Sotto poena del quarto contenuta nelli statuti de Zara et obligation in solidum de tutti li loro beni mobel, et stabel presenti et futuri, Promettendo esse Reverendissimo Monsignor Vescovo procuratore per el ditto nome di procurator conservar indenni i detti conduttori nella presente location durante per i detti anni tre Sotto obligation de tutti li beni del ditto Reverendissimo Monsignor Arcivescovo principale

Fatto nella Camera dell'habitation del soprascritto Reverendissimo Monsignor Vescovo procuratore posta a Zara nel confin del castel grande, Presenti il Reverendo Meser prete Dominico Armano Zaratino et Meser Antonio Valmaran dal Castelfranco servitor del soprascritto Reverendissimo Monsignor, Testimoni havuti, chiamati et spetialmente pregati

Inventarium

Inventory of both all immobile and mobile goods of the late Nicolaus Fanfogna, written at the request of his brother and testamentary heir, Gregorius Fanfogna (cf. PB II, 6, stipulated on 21 June, 1531).

Marco Antonio Contarinj Conte de Zara, 1531, die 21 mensis Junij

Hoc est Inventarium bonorum, et hereditatis quondam spectabilis domini Nicolai Fanphoneo Nobilis Jadrensis, scriptum per me Petrum de Bassano Notarium requisitum per virum Nobilem Jadrensis dominum Gregorium de Fanphogna eius fratrem heredem Testamentarium, protestationem praemissam, tam ipse heres non intervenit Tenori, ultra unius, hereditatis, et tamquam Creditorum ipsius heredis quod habetur dixit Cum dicto deffuncto Sit Sibi Salvam protestando etiam tam si quod in futuram ad eius notitiam provenerit quod non esset hic Inventarium opfuit Illum poni facere, videlicet,

Primo una veste fodrada de volpe de pano negro venetiam piu della mida usada; item unaltra veste negra de pano venetiam fodrada de Contado della Conditione ut supra; item unaltra veste negra de pano venetiam fodrada de vari non Troppo usada; item unaltra veste negra de pano venetiam fodrada de dossi; item una veste per portar per caxa fodrada di volpe Collor Come musta valier usada; item spaliere duj, fruade Tesude a verdure; item Tapedi, Fra vechi, et nove, numero 7; item unaltro Covertor straponto bianco, usado di famulle; item uno paro di busti de portar misura pro indivixo; item uno Covertor, bianco de lombaxo, straponto usado; item una Cortina di Tella biava vechia, lavorada, doro; item una Cortina bianca de lombaxina schietta; item uno antiporta de rassa, cum L'arma da cha fanphogna sopra; item Camixa da homo usada, numero diexe; item uno quadro di nostra dona, in dorado, vechio Intagliato; item uno Crucifixo de Legno piccolo; item uno spechio Tuto indorado, picholo; item unaltro spechio indorado vechia ala anziga; item una Cassa bianca di ancipresso; item una Cassa pichola de ancipresso rossa; item una Cassa vechia depenta; item una Cassa bianca de Talpon; item una Cassa Grande depenta, cum L'arma loro sopra; item una Cassetta di nogera vechia, da Zoprir scripturus; item uno descho quadro de nogara; item dui Casse di Collor Zallo, et nogara; item dui forcieri, noni de collar rosso; item dui forcieri, de penti, di Collor verde; item uno Copliano ala anziga vechio; item una Cassa vechia de nogara; item Carnege, numero diexe Tra Grande, et pichole; item uno Libro, scripto, armam Coperto, di rosso, vocato politica; item libri de piu Sorte, numero 17, videlicet, uno Oracio, uno Cicero, uno Quintiliam, uno Juvenal, uno Lorenzo Valla vochabulista, uno Epistolle de Ovidio, regulle Sepontine, uno Petrarca, uno Virgillio, uno Ovidio metamorfosio, uno Matial⁹, uno Epistolle de Cicero, meditatione de Santo Bona Ventura, uno Livio, Coperto di pelle rossa, unaltro Juvenal picollo, una institutione de Gramaticha in volume picholo, et uno missal vechio Scripto in Carta pergamina;

Tarzenti

Taza Tre, di arzento, de una marcha Luna de Liga; Tazera una pichola darzento basso; item Taze duj Grade darzento maron Tanto fin; item uno per di Salien darzento; item chuchiari darzento, numero Tre; item pironi darzento, numero Cinque; item uno anelleno, doro, cum uno rubin in mezzo; item Lavezi, numero Tre di bronco; item Caldare, numero Tre pichole, et una Grande de Lissia, de lire 4; item pelza de diverse Sorte prexo in Tuto Lire ...; item uno mersento di bronzo cum el suo pistorzio; item banchali Tra verdi, et rossi, et zalj, numero ...; item

⁹ Gaius Matius.

dui bon Grande da vin viojde, vechio; item charatellj, numero 4, de ronen, de moza, il Luno; item caratellj piu piccoli, numero 3; item una orsia Grande, et lalatra pichola; item Tirazi, numero duj vechi; item dui Costrani indoradi, duj Laj, per Tener avanti letto;

stabile

una Caxa proindivisa, cum meser Gregorio herede suprascritto posta per mezo La Ecclexia de Santo Simon Justo, dove al presente habita; item unaltra caxa, apresso Santo Grisogono apresso quellj de Ferra sul Terreno suo proprio, non divixa tra loro; item uno pezo de orto in borgo apresso Santo Martin, paga de Livello anuaim Lire xiiij soldi de picholj, non divixio Tra loro; item una possessione, in villa Berdo¹⁰ pro indivixa cum meser Simon Fanphogna; item unaltra possessione, in villa Drazeuaz¹¹, pro indivisa Tra de loro fratellj; item una possessione, in villa Gersane de sorte cinque, ut circa; item una ograda Sotol monte ferro posta, olinata, circa gognali 17, pro indivixa, Tra de loro; item uno pezo de Terrena doltra il porto apresso Santo Pietro et Santo Zuane¹² de Gognali circa cinque; item una ograda, in loco dicto Celopech¹³, circa Gognali dui; item una possessione, a Exo¹⁴, cum la sua habitatione, in Soller pro indivisa; item una ograda apresso, lj frati, in loco dicto Passinam¹⁵, circa Gognali sete; item una possessione, de Gognali 8, vel circa, tenuta per Michiel Traucich et altri Socalj, apresso, la possessione, de quelli che nassi, in loco dicto Passinam, pro indivixa Tra de loro; item uno pezo de Terra, circa Gognali 8, in dobra pogliana¹⁶, tien Michiel Bosichievic, pro indivisa; item una possessione, Sul Isola de Pago, a Pongliana¹⁷ villam, Simon Rubocich; item Saline, in insula de Pago, numero 50, in circa, cum el suo magazen, pro indivisa;

Item lettj dui Grandi pieni, di piuma; item sechi di ramina, numero Tre, et uno di Lato picholo; item bacilj, numero Tre, et uno ramina de Lato; item Candelieri, de (...) numero Cinque; item unaltro paro de manego curte de damascho verde da dona; item uno paro de manego da dona curte de charisea Zalla; item uno paro de manego Longo da dona de pano negro usado; item uno paro de manego de veludo cremasin da dona curto le qual disseno esse, da pascha; item unaltro paro de manego curte da dona de raso rosso dala dita; item duj pironj darzento, dala dita, lj qual disse domina Anzola esse de suasorella; item una Centura da dona ala antiga, de veludo verde dala dita; item uno pocho de fil de lino suril (...), Naspo, dala dita; item lire 9 soldi 16 di moneda dala dita; item 4 majere darzento indorado da manego di dona Saladina; item uno paro de asolo darzento, dala dita; item 4 braza di vello; item duj faciolj, di vello da spalle di dona; item uno paro de manego de Tella da dona; item una Centura rossa stretta da dona, lovara con Seda; item uno vello vechio da spalle; item duj Schiavine pelosa usada; item una batesel de piuma usado; item Tre Schiavine pelosa vechie; item uno linaiol da leto, strazado; item uno paro de licj, da Tesser Nionj; item una coltrina, in duj pezi di pella bianca, et Zalla; item una banchal de rassa grossa biancho; item banchal divisado vechio; item una oplechie da dona; item uno paro de gardassj vechi; item Cinque giemj de lana grossa, 3 bianchi, et 2 Berninj; item una faciol da mano vechio, con lj charj bianchj; item duj Tanaiolj; item una camisia da puto pichola; item una chasettam vechio da pano negro; item duj fasse divisado da lana; item uno paro de manego longe de pella; Item duj Saline de pietra rossa;

¹⁰ Brda (Berda).

¹¹ Dračevac (Malpaga).

¹² Voštarnica (Ceraria–Barcagno).

¹³ Local toponym, place situated in the Astarea area.

¹⁴ Iž(Eso).

¹⁵ Pašman (Pasmano).

¹⁶ Dobropoljana (Dobrapogliana).

¹⁷ Poljana, situated on the island of Pag (Pago).

item sete petenj da Tessere; item unaltro paro de licj vechie; item unaltra coltrina de pella negra vechia; item duj sedri di ramo; item duj chaldare de ramo, et la 3 piu picholo; item 4 zare da agua, et da oglio; item duj piteri da loglio; item una stagna vechia; item una Tellar da Tessar farindo; item una fersora dj ramo; item uno paro de teri da fogo, et chadena; item casse 8, vechio; item una quarta de legno, con duj cerchi sopra; item una zapa et uno dente di ferro; item una banacha da mangiar sopra; item uno morter de pietra, laltro de legno; item una batalluga grande; item uno verdator de rusta valier da homo lo qual dissero, de (...) la portar fuor de casa; item duj charega da sentar; item uno molinal; item 4 bote, et uno mastul, sive orna; item duj luarno; item 2 barilo, de Sechi lima; item uno paro de moleno; item chiavj, 10, di piadara di ferra; item una chiusa; item bochalj 4, item una chassano, antiquo; item una concha grande da far pane, et uno tarviso vechio; item uno choncholo; item uno maniol longo, lo qual dissero esse, in pegon per lire 1 soldi 10; item Tre mase sive Sachi; item uno paro de scarpe da homo; item una casa de legname posta in orto de San Grisogono nel terreno de San Grisogono fralj sui veri confini; item duj gognalj, in circa, dichiarj de vignada in circa, a Ponta Michal¹⁸; item una vestura de pano panonazo Noua formida; item una vestura de pano negro usada; item una vestura de samito negro usada; item una vestura de mezalana negra usada; item una vestura de rassa verde; item una chapa de Sarza, Noua, da dona; item unaltra chapa da dona de acsamito usada; item unaltra chapa da dona de Sarza vechia; item una chamiza de Sarza negra con lj suj chavi; item duj spalenete de rassa verde; item uno banchatero, divisado picholo; item dui altri banchatarj divisadj, piu longorj; item duj faziolj da chava Surilj; item uno mortereo de bronzo con il suo piston; item duj bochalj; item uno fado; item 4 Scudelle de Terra; item 9 chari de piader, et schudelini de Terra; item uno cestel; item Tre chandelieri de Laron; item una chalderieta, et uno laniziero; item Tre ladmize; item una piadeno di petra; item uno bochal da spinieri, con uno pocho de Sal dentro; item una pignata; item uno vaso da oglio; item una lana de rocho de lana seriz; item uno paro de cortelinj; item lana de lana, lavada seriz; item Lana susia, videlicet, non lavada chalari sete e mezo, videlicet 7 ½; item Tella grossa griza, in una peza braza, 32 ½ Zaratini; item una vestura verde de rassa grossa da masseri; item unaltra vestura vechia de rassa strazada da masseri; item una goneleta verde de rassa da putina; item una vestura de rassa grossa romana; item unaltra vestura de rassa simil romana strazada; item una coltra bianca straponta vechia strazada; item uno Suchama, rosso da letto; item una banchal schrito vichio per una sala chassa de rassa; item unaltro banchal zallo de rassa con lj chavj negri; item cinque altri banchalj per Turj Zallj de rassa con lj chavj negri; item duj Schiavine murlachesche vechie; item Tre para de Linciolj vechi strazadi; item uno paro de Linciolj Integri ma usadj; item Camisa numero None usade, fra strazade, et non; item duj para de manego negro de paro longo vechio; item unaltro paro de manego de pano negro longo vechio da fantescho; item uno paro de fraton, con le sui schare; item braza 13 de fustanio grosso; item nove peteni da Tesson fra picholj, et grandj, sive altra alla schianona berda; item pano rosso alto duj dada, lo qual estato Sotto una vestura; item quatuor fazolj similj da charo, lj quallj ad opera da di in di essa dona Francischina; item uno oplechie, sive oniza camisa; item Tre Intimele da chussini, le qual adopera similiter la dicta; item Tre Tanniolj vechi strazadj, item cinque rasadori da barbiero; item dui para de schartaci vechi, da lana sualj; item dui para de peteni da petenas la lana; item uno Tavolier con le sue Tavole da ciogar de Cipresso; item uno Libro, vocato Intus Taurus pauperum; item uno quadro di Croa, vechissimo; item uno Libro da corsi longo; item uno forcimento da cipresso anticho;

¹⁸ Puntamika (Punt' Amica).

item una piera da guar da barbiere; item uno Lavel da mano; item una coltrina bianca da letto; item una fersora; item una chaldara de Lissia; item uno Casto de vimene bianche Longa da pane; item duj chasselene vechie; item duj pateri verdi de Terra (...); item dui Tavolo segadize; item 4 pezetj de Tella, ac uno pocho chordala razene; item uno Schanzol da magnar saxo; item i (1) chanava, 2 sachi da chamano garzol, et fora di sacho xi (11), mazuj, in Tuto prexo Libri 310, item unaltro sacho prexo Libri 131; item al quali pezi di ramo roto; item uno baril pieno non Tropo pieno di churchie; item 2 bote da vi voyda una, et laltra pieno de aceto (...); item unaltro baril pieno con charobe; item 4 bige de cerchiotj picholj, item una Zangola; item 3 pezetj de Sirro de chiochulj; item 2 barilj de Tuorina, Salada; item i (1) lissia, 3 Camixe, et 3 liniolj; item lix (59) marchiam Libri 114; item unaltra stadiera Grande; item una barila de biava sechia la qual dissero esse da Radosseuich; item uno Sechio da chalar aqua, de rame; item uno pocho de maronj, in uno chasso, in magazzino sono queste cose; item uno baril con charolo niouo balanze de legno da pexar charobo; item una barila de (...) sechi voyda sechia; item uno Sacho con una quarta de faxolj dentro; item una barila da Sardoli – con uno pacho de (...) rossa dentro; item una chassa bianca con una Linciol dentro grezo; item una vesta de pano panonazo da dona vechia; item una vesta da dona negra vechia de pano; item uno paro de bragesse bianche vechie de razza; item uno bolador de ferro; item uno pastoral de pello da dona; item uno schudeli de pelzo; item certe axole con certj choralarj; item danari in dicta chasselasa, fra loro, e moneda libri 41 soldi 6; item stara, 5, de formento; item danarj libri 3 soldi 3; item sardelle migliana, numero 55; item sarj migliana, numero 13 de compagnia con meser Alberto; item uno Schagno vechio, item uno bancheto da porta; item una chaza sbusara di Ferro; item una Tavola Zonda de cipresso; item duj bataluge; item uno Lanel de Lano; item una charega da pazo; item uno Zamiso; item duj schion, una Sopra il leto, laltra per Terra;

In chamera una roda da molin formida;

item 15 pezi storti de legno da far Roda da Torcholo; item duj Schrone per il Torcholo da vin; item uno fuso da Torcholo; item uno pezo de mandoler; item una piera da guar rossa; item cinque charaselleri da vin; item uno linazero Niouo; item duj barile de b (biave) sechi; item duj mastellj da folar lana; item Tre roche da Molin; item una chameniza, sine pillla da oglio, con duj starichi doglio dentro; item quattro quarti grande in circa de orzo; item Tre Torcholj, fornidj, salvo che ad uno solo manca le piere; item uno servan chremignach;

bona autem stabilia

item una caseta, sup proprio Terreno, parte de muro et parte de ligname coperta de chopj, in uno Soler con la Sua corte; fra lj sui confini, ala citadela¹⁹; item una chamara Sotto la detta caseta, in la detta corte; item unaltra chamara parte de muro, et parte de ligname nela qual Sono posti lj diti Torcholj; item gognali Tre de chavi de vigna, sul Terreno de meser Nicolo Cimilich, in Cerodo²⁰; item gognalj duj de chavi de vigna sotto bel veder²¹ uno, et Sul Terreno delle venerabili Sor monache de San Dimitri, et laltro a Celopech²² sul Terreno de meser Zoylo de Ferra;

¹⁹ Confinium cittadellae, situated in Zadar (Zara).

²⁰ Zerodo, local toponym, place situated in the Astarea rea.

²¹ Bili Brig (Belvedere).

²² Local toponym, place situated in the Astarea area.

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CC	Cornelius Constantius	box. no. I	1567 to 1569
DC	Daniel Cavalca	box. no. I–III	1551 to 1566
FT	Franciscus Thomaseus	box. no. I	1548 to 1561
GC	Gabriel Cernotta	box. no. I	1562 to 1564
HM	Horatius de Marchettis	box. no. I	1567 to 1569
JM	Johannes a Morea	box. no. I	1545 to 1569
JMM	Johannes Michael Mazzarellus	box. no. I–IV	1540 to 1554
MAS	Marcus Aurelius Sonzonius	box. no. I	1544 to 1548
NC	Nicolaus Canali	box. no. I	1548 to 1567
ND	Nicolaus Drasmileus	box. no. I, IV	1540 to 1566
PB	Petrus de Bassano	box. no. I–II	1540 to 1569
PS	Paulus de Sanctis	box. no. I	1545 to 1551
SB	Simon Budineus	box. no. I	1556 to 1566
SM	Simon Mazzarellus	box. no. I	1555 to 1569

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